

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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#### THE AMERICAN BOY, AS PRODUCED IN THE NEW YORK "MELTING POT"

(Boys have figured largely in the local news during recent weeks, as a result of various praiseworthy movements to interest the youth of our land in the better things of life. Thus, for example, there have been "Boys' Weeks" everywhere, with boy Mayors for a day and boy Governors, and boys' parades. This group of eight young Americans, representing in descent as many nationalities, called on the President last month. At the left, in the front row, is one of all-American stock, the second is of Irish parentage, the third Austrian; then follow boys of French, Greek, Italian, Chinese, and Syrian descent)

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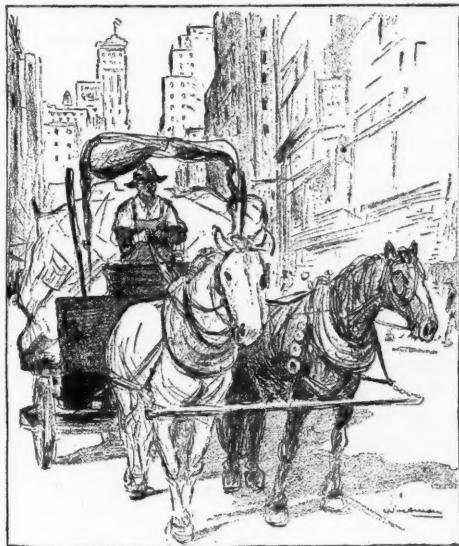
No. 6

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*A Notable  
Spring  
Season*

General remarks about the weather can seldom be made to apply to a country as extensive as the United States. But it may be said that for large areas the spring of 1925 has brought rather less rainfall than that of 1924. Along the Atlantic seaboard, springtime arrived unusually early, and was not interrupted by the belated blizzards of late March and early April that have so frequently chilled the fervor of our spring poets. Last year was a bad one for corn planting, and proved to be a very uneven sort of crop year. By contrast, the farmers are finding 1925 a favorable year for their

standard operations. Never has there been a more general appreciation of the beauty of our varied landscape. It was reported that many thousands of people motored through the Shenandoah Valley in apple-blossom time, that part of Virginia having taken up fruit culture as a specialty. Somewhat later, the great apple orchards of New York State were similarly admired, though not so well displayed to visitors. The struggle to make a living on the land has been severe since 1921, but American agriculture will survive and will learn to solve the new problems of country life, which are rather those of marketing than of production. This season, the "daylight saving" plan is in legal effect throughout Massachusetts, as in many European countries. New York City at the end of April also changed the clocks and began work an hour earlier. Many other cities are observing this excellent custom.



THE COUNTRY BOY WHO CAME TO THE CITY  
TO AVOID SPRING PLOUGHING WONDERS  
IF TRUCK DRIVING IS ANY BETTER JOB  
AFTER ALL

From the *World* © (New York)

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*Migrations  
North and  
South* With the approach of summer, our migratory elements of population have been trekking northward from Florida, southern California, and the other regions of our southland that have inviting winter climates. We have now a number of schools that hold their winter sessions somewhere in the South, while occupying northern quarters during the rest of the year. Also, we have a working hotel population of managers and helpers who divide the year between North and South. An increasing number of farmers and fruit growers avoid northern winters by working in their own southern orchards or truck gardens for several months in the year, without abandoning their northern homes and enterprises. Many older people, who find themselves

less able to resist the cold, have been migrating in the full sense, and making new homes in southern regions; and no movement could be more sensible, for it is adding many years of pleasurable existence to the lives of hundreds of thousands of people who had toiled through perhaps fifty winters in our harsh northern climate. On the other hand, one observes a movement from the South to the North of many thousands of vigorous young men who care nothing about such trifles as the weather, and who find themselves thrilled by the opportunities for business and professional success in New York or Boston, Chicago or the Twin Cities, San Francisco or Seattle, or in a thousand other places that welcome men of talent and courage.

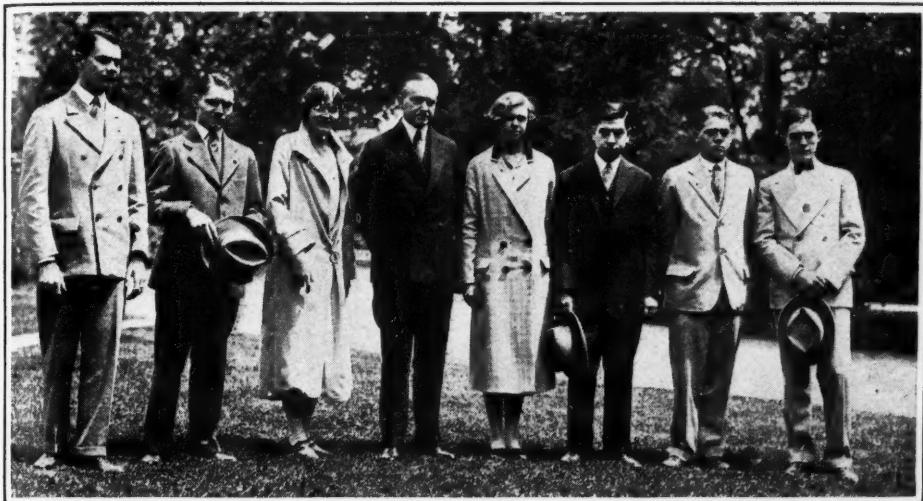
*No Stagnation in These Times* All this movement and stir is to be no part of the country that is threatened with stagnation. Each State sees its own new possibilities, and proclaims them confidently and without envy. The year 1925 is perhaps the most favorable one that has presented itself since the opening of the present century for the calm and steadfast application of individual and national energies to the treatment of economic problems. There is no prevalent lack of employment; wages are at a high level, but not so abnormal in relation to building and other enterprises as two or three years ago. Agricultural prices are relatively low, but recovering their tone. It is a year in which thrift and conservatism rather than speculative expansion should be the ruling principle. The great tide of European travel that set in last year will be reproduced by our vacationists this summer. But New England, northern New York, the New Jersey and Pennsylvania mountains, and the vast woodlands and open spaces of Canada, with our Great Lake region from Michigan to Minnesota, with Colorado, the Rockies, and the National Parks, will have their summer visitors by the million.

*Forgotten Politics of Yesteryear* Just as Switzerland is made prosperous by its provision for the summer guests who do not fail to arrive, it is to be increasingly true that northern New England is destined to regain in one way what it has lost in another. President Coolidge a year ago was a central figure in the absorbing political

activities of a presidential season. He spent the summer, except for a few days, at the national capital. This year he will have a New England vacation. In the period of political repose that envelops the country just now, it is something of an effort to remember that the presidential primaries were being held a year ago, and that the national convention that nominated Coolidge and Dawes met at Cleveland on June 10. The Democratic convention, which lasted from June 24 until July 11, and which nominated Messrs. John W. Davis and Charles W. Bryan, made New York a political focus and held the strained attention of the entire country. It all seems rather remote and half-forgotten. Partisan feeling at the present time is almost wholly non-existent.

*A "Spokesman" and His Outgoings* The President's May-day contribution, through the press, took the form of a bit of sage advice to his fellow-countrymen regarding the use and abuse of the mental faculty that we call "attention." This admonition was not, indeed, given in a direct message. It filtered pleasantly through the imaginary "spokesman" at the White House, who is nowadays represented as talking candidly with the accredited body of newspaper correspondents, and who tells them things that they may transmit to the public, with the understanding that the President will not be responsible for their language or for the consequences. At the Gridiron Club dinner on April 23, President Coolidge explained why it was not advisable that the press should attempt to quote him directly, or to report him as having expressed such and such views. American policy has become important for one reason or another to every other government in the world. The President must therefore be allowed to choose his own times and occasions for making direct official utterances. He can, nevertheless, convey many ideas and opinions to the country through the press without any questions being raised as to precise statements.

*He Suggests a Season of Repose* At the opening of May the country was treated to a typical expression of the views of the President regarding business and politics, and the desirable preoccupations of the American people for the rest of the year 1925. The New York *Times* summed



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**PRESIDENT COOLIDGE WELCOMES WINNERS OF THE ORATORICAL HIGH SCHOOL CONTEST,  
AND HAS NOT FOUND WASHINGTON LONESOME, THOUGH CONGRESS IS NOT IN SESSION**

(At the extreme right is Robert Sessions, fifteen, of Birmingham, Ala., who was adjudged the champion student orator of the United States and awarded the first prize of \$2,000. The others in the group from left to right are: Philip Glatfelter, seventeen, of Columbia, Pa., Eastern champion, winner of seventh award; George Stansell, seventeen, of Chicago, Ill., Central States champion, winner of sixth award; Miss Asonath Graves, sixteen, champion of the District of Columbia, winner of fifth award; President Calvin Coolidge; Miss Flora Longenecker, sixteen, of Ilion, N. Y., Northeastern champion, winner of fourth award; Max N. Kroloff, seventeen, of Sioux City, Iowa, Midwestern champion, winner of third award; Eugene F. McElmoel, of Los Angeles, sixteen, Pacific champion, winner of second award)

it up in front-page headlines as follows:

*"President Proposes to Give Business a Chance to Rest.*

*"Believes it Should Be Disturbed by the Government as Little as Possible.*

*"Holds Time is Opportune.*

*"Congress Not in Session and no Large Administration Matters Projected for Present.*

*"Hint of a Broad Policy.*

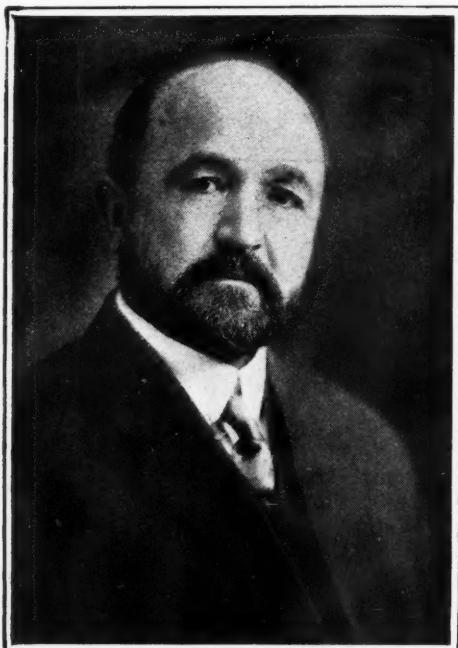
*"Curb on Trade Board Publicity Taken as a Sign of Conservative Aims."*

In the extended report that followed these headlines, there occurred the following sentence: "The President would like it if the country just now would give as little thought as possible to the Government and devote its time and attention more undividedly to the conduct of the nation's business." We are given to understand that there will be no more agitation at Washington of the kind that promotes uncertainty in commercial circles than is consistent with law enforcement.

*Official  
Ways Less  
Disturbing* Thus the Federal Trade Commission has adopted new rules that, it is hoped, will make it less menacing to particular business interests through the preliminary publicity that has little or nothing to do with its effective work as an administrative body.

It is further hinted that the Interstate Commerce Commission is disposed to aid and support tendencies in the direction of the grouping of railroads in larger systems, unless it can be shown that legitimate interests are injuriously affected. The appointment of Mr. Thomas F. Woodlock of New York, in spite of strong sectional opposition, as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is regarded as in line with the Administration's conservative attitude. Similarly the choice of Representative Humphrey of the State of Washington as a member of the Federal Trade Commission is said to have given a three-to-two majority "which has made possible the change in the rules governing procedure and restriction of publicity." It is not the policy of the Administration to disturb business by suggesting any considerable tariff revision, and it would appear that certain changes in the personnel of the Tariff Board are likely to promote harmony in Administration circles.

*Seeking  
to Stabilize  
Business* While these things were matters of much partisan talk in the recent session of Congress and have been closely followed in certain business organizations, they can hardly be said to have caught the attention of the



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**HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY, OF SEATTLE,  
NEW MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL TRADE  
COMMISSION**

(Mr. Humphrey has long been a prominent Western lawyer, who has served several years in Congress)

average citizen. They all point to the fact that the Coolidge Administration, while it may justly repudiate the charge that it is under the domination of big business, is doing its best to give stability to our economic life; to keep the wheels running smoothly; and to allow thrift and industry to secure the rewards that result from continuity and foresight. There is nothing spectacular about this domestic program that has been outlined by Mr. Coolidge. But wise and sensible people of all parties and of all sections will welcome a period of repose as regards matters of politics and government, and an opportunity to concentrate upon their own affairs.

*The Vast  
Machine of  
Government* In former days we were accustomed to read of an intrusive and arbitrary officialdom in European countries, and to thank our stars for our comparative exemption from miseries of that kind. But we have a tendency to swing from one extreme to the other; and now, in recent years, we have tasted something of the bitterness of having a considerable percentage of our popula-

tion blundering about as rulers over the rest of us, and taxing us fearfully in order to pay themselves the wages they demand for their inexpert exercise of unaccustomed authority. The Great War was, in part, though not wholly, responsible for the opening of this Pandora box of calamities. President Coolidge has already reduced the tax-eating swarms, and done something to curb the devastating wastefulness of public expenditure. But he hopes to accomplish still more in the line of retrenchment and economy. He will encounter an increasing resistance, first on the part of the bureaucracy itself, but chiefly by reason of log-rolling methods and sectional pressure in Congress.

*Congress as  
Foe of  
Economy*

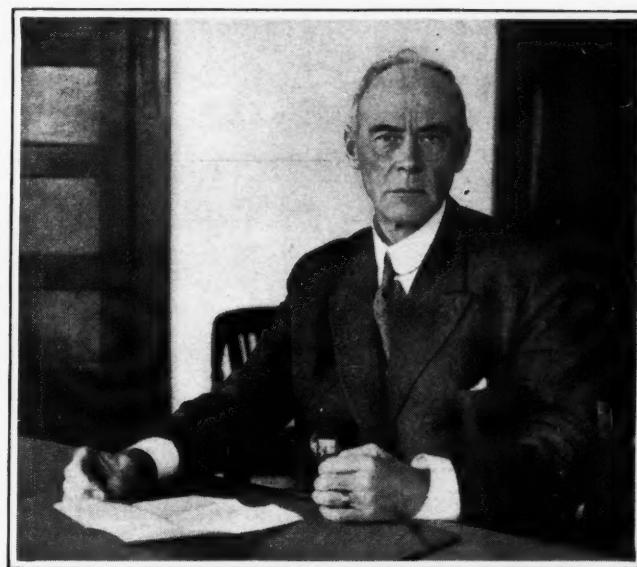
Each Congressman is willing to favor economy for other people, but wants appropriations for his own district and jobs for political supporters among his own constituents. He can raid the public treasury for the benefit of his own State or district only through complaisance toward the similar schemes of his fellow Congressmen; and thus arises the familiar practice known as log-rolling. The great appropriations that tend to result from these log-rolling methods are possible, however, only through the imposing of heavy tax burdens; and everybody knows that the people back home hate high taxes. How is this difficulty to be met? The answer is quite simple. Find a system of taxation that will victimize a politically helpless minority for the benefit of a politically dominant majority. This accounts for our recent invention of sharply graded rates of surtax on incomes.

*Wealth, in  
Russia and  
America*

In Russia the Communists having seized the reins of Government through circumstances imposed by the disasters of war, the property accumulations and the landed estates of those having more than a peasant's holdings were confiscated and distributed. The motive of greed is played upon; and the beneficiaries are persuaded to believe that these wholesale wrongs are in pursuance of a policy of economic justice. Our own existing system of highly discriminating surtaxes, and of confiscatory estate and inheritance taxation, rests upon the same appeal to the instinct of greed, and upon the same attempt to soothe the public

conscience by trying to make it appear that some sort of principle of moral justice, and some kind of authoritative axiom of taxation, justify our new methods of obtaining revenue. There is, of course, a distinction between legalized and unlegalized robbery. Unfortunately, however, the one kind seems to promote the other. The Russian régime of public seizure and confiscation has not promoted a reign of law and order. Our American system of confiscatory taxation has been accompanied by such a prevalence of brigandage and burglary as no civilized and peaceful society has ever had reason to know before in the history of the world.

*Shall We Have Honest Taxation?* The persons who have very large incomes are comparatively few; and the opportunity becomes dangerously tempting to the average voter to send demagogues to Congress who will not hesitate to take the money away from the "bloated millionaire." This hurts the public morale much more than it hurts the millionaire himself. The fact that more than half of the aggregate amount of income taxes is paid by people living in a comparatively small section of the country has no bearing upon the principles involved. It has, however, some bearing upon the politics concerned with the attempt of the Administration to reduce taxes and to change somewhat the confiscatory character of our present system. In time of war, a government is entitled to all the property and all the personal service of all of its citizens. But, in time of peace, the continuance of war systems of taxation is merely disguised plunder. It is well to look these facts in the face, and to call things by their right names. While, therefore, President Coolidge is not to be criticised for advising his fellow citizens to forget politics and government for a few months to come, it can do no possible harm if an increased number of people will utilize this season of political quietude to think



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**HON. THOMAS F. WOODLOCK, A NEW YORK RAILROAD AUTHORITY, WHO HAS BEEN APPOINTED A MEMBER OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION**

clearly upon present-day tendencies, and to prepare for the strenuous discussions that must be expected next winter.

*"Where Is Swampscott?"* The President of the United States cannot go anywhere without newspaper publicity; and, since almost everybody reads the papers, a President's movements tend to teach many people certain lessons in geography. Thus it happens that on June 25 President and Mrs. Coolidge are going to a place called Swampscott, which is situated upon what the Massachusetts people call the "North Shore." There are some places on our Atlantic coastline that have long been known as vacation resorts for summer visitors. The habit of taking winter vacations is comparatively new for Americans, always excepting a limited number of people of means and leisure who have in times past been more likely to be found in Monte Carlo or in Egypt than in California or Florida. Great changes have come about; and, with the increase of vacation travel and the development of outdoor life and recreation, we have begun to attract a good many visitors, even from Europe and other foreign regions, to our northern shores, woodlands, and lakes in the summer time, and to our southern play-



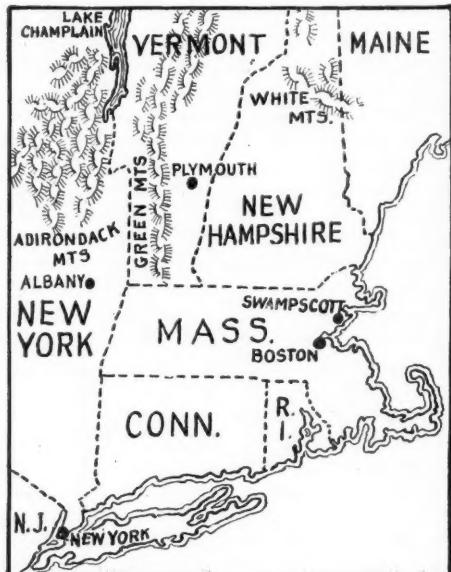
THE SUMMER HOTEL AT SWAMPSOCCOTT, A PART OF WHICH IS TO BE USED FOR THE EXECUTIVE OFFICES DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VACATION

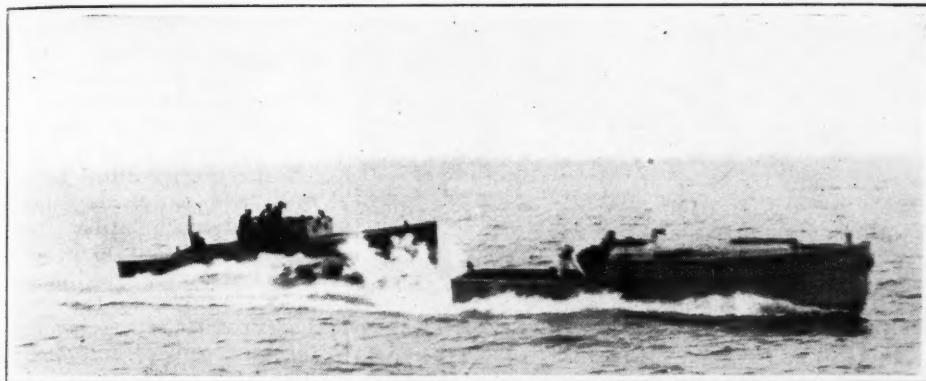
grounds in the winter. The movements of President Coolidge will be the means of advertising quite legitimately the summer charms of New England. Not only are Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire and northern New York, taken together, a delightful region for summer rest and pleasure, but, as it happens, they are easily accessible to increasing multitudes of people. The remarkable advantages of New England for summer visitors, and of Florida and adjacent regions for winter-time activities, lie in the simple fact that

there has grown up an immense population between the two districts, which finds ample facilities of travel by railroad, automobile highway, and coastwise steamship in both directions, without any of the inconveniences that attend travel in foreign lands.

*Forestry, and the Work of Pinchot* The month of May is a good time to be reminded of the services of people who are

leading the nation in measures that will save and restore for future generations the impaired resources of beauty and natural wealth with which America was originally endowed. In this REVIEW we are constantly seeking ways to impress upon our readers the importance of forestry as a policy of statesmanship. The time has come for greatly extending the reserved areas, and almost if not every State in the Union is giving some thought to the idea of having State forests. A number of States have been studying the question of taxation as affecting reforestation by private landowners. At least a notable beginning has been made in the direction of a comprehensive forest policy, and the name of Gifford Pinchot will be inseparably associated in our history with those of Muir, Sargent and a few earlier authorities as influential in what will be regarded as a matter of inestimable importance. The Roosevelt Memorial Association has adopted the plan of selecting three persons each year upon whom to confer medals for distinguished service, in certain selected spheres of action. The recipient of one of





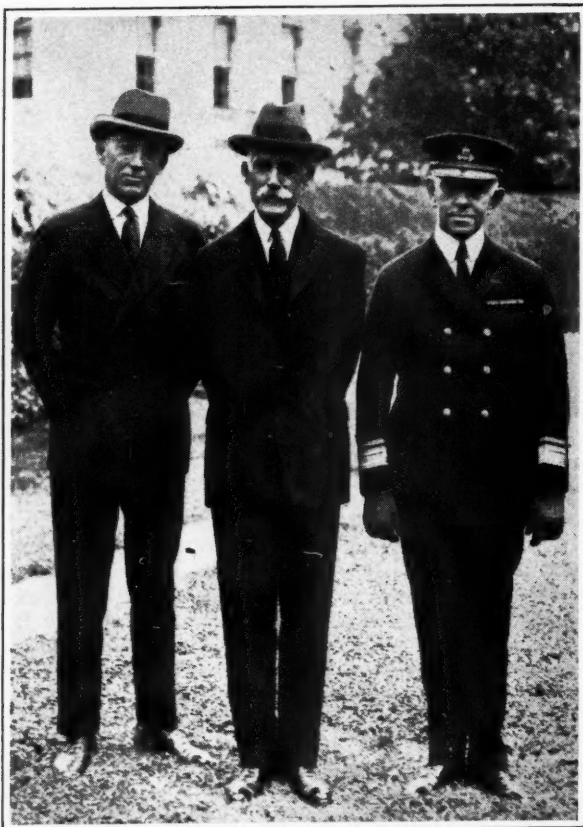
CUTTERS OF COAST GUARD SERVICE, PURSUING RUM BOATS OFF NEW JERSEY COAST

these medals for 1925 (bestowed at the White House on May 15 by the President) was Gifford Pinchot, now Governor of Pennsylvania. The award in this case was made for his great part in the forestry movement. A tribute to his services is paid elsewhere in this number by Mr. Charles Lathrop Pack, himself one of the most eminent of our leaders in that same great cause of the conservation of our natural resources and especially our wealth in trees. Governor Pinchot's long career has been so full of courageous activity and of interesting variety that it would take a volume to tell the story of it all.

*The Career of George Bird Grinnell* Another recipient of the George Bird Grinnell Medal is George Bird Grinnell, whose interesting and useful career is summarized for our readers by Mr. Madison Grant, who is himself a scientist and author of great distinction. Mr. Grinnell, like Theodore Roosevelt, was a naturalist almost from the cradle, and, like Mr. Pinchot, he is an honored son of Yale. Grinnell spent years in the furtherance of scientific exploration and research at Yale, just as Pinchot headed and developed the Yale School of Forestry. As an editor and writer upon outdoor subjects, and as an authority upon the American Indian and the wild life of this country, Mr. Grinnell is entitled to the highest honor and recognition that his countrymen can bestow. Something of what his life work has signified will be understood by any one who reads Mr. Madison Grant's sympathetic and well-informed recital of the services of the man upon whose shoulders fell the mantle of Audubon, the great American naturalist.

*The Fame of a Southern Woman* like that of Governor Pinchot and Mr. Grinnell, can be expressed in the language of the nature lover quite as well as in that of the humanitarian. While her mission has addressed itself more immediately to the boys and girls and to the mothers and fathers of the southern highlands, it has had its essential relation to the restoration and permanence of vast areas where agriculture and forestry require, as a first step, the better conservation of the human stock. On the great domain of the Berry Schools there has begun to operate what must be regarded as a laboratory for the training of young people in the finer adaptations of life. This includes the study of forests and orchards, field crops and gardens, animals and breeds, the science of soils, and the science of home-making on permanent lines in the physical environment of our South. Miss Berry has earned her Roosevelt Medal as an exponent of all that is best. It has been her mission to bring beauty, along with intelligence and moral virility, into the art of living.

*"Sea-power" and "Rum Row"* The newspapers last month were considerably exercised over two somewhat thrilling episodes in our current maritime experience. One of these episodes consisted of the maneuvers of our aggregated ships of war in the waters of the Hawaiian Islands. The other field of maritime excitement lay off our Atlantic seaboard, and we may mention this second situation first. It relates to our effort to baffle and defeat the "rum-runners." The business of smuggling liquor had not been successfully dealt with, and had apparently increased in volume and in



MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR ENFORCING THE DRY LAWS

(Left to right, are: Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and head of the Prohibition Unit; Andrew J. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; and Rear-Admiral Frederick C. Billard, Commandant of the Coast Guard)

commercial importance. A considerable number of small ocean steamers and sizeable sailing ships under foreign flags—principally British, but with some French and Dutch and German ones—had entered this trade with little or no risk to themselves and with large profits. Many of them took on their loads in the West Indies, where great depots for storage and trans-shipment now exist, the longer ocean voyage from Europe having been made by larger vessels. Until recently, these ships claimed immunity up to the three-mile limit from our coast. More recently, by virtue of an agreement negotiated with Great Britain under the direction of Secretary Hughes, a twelve-mile limit has become recognized. Following the example of Great Britain, a number of other governments have signed similar agreements.

*The Coast  
Guard Takes  
the Job*

At length, however, this business of breaking up rum smuggling has been turned over to the Coast Guard, a service that had formerly a great variety of duties to perform. A large special appropriation by Congress has enabled the Coast Guard to supply itself with many small, swift, armed vessels, most of which had been built towards the end of the war period for the navy. In general charge of the operations against smuggling is the new Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Brig.-Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews, to whom the work of prohibition enforcement was assigned on April first. General Andrews is a resolute individual who goes about his official work with military precision, and with no idea whatsoever of failing to break down the particular

*Activities  
in  
May*

The twelve-mile limit is not a matter of strict measurement, but is interpreted as meaning something like an hour's passage from the shore. The rum fleet, so-called, had in April and early May been anchored much farther from land than formerly, and it was stretched over a good many miles, mostly off the New Jersey coast, at an average distance of, perhaps, forty miles from land. Working as auxiliary to the rum fleet, there has been a great number of small motor boats and speedy craft of all sorts owned by former fishermen and other residents on the coast. These Americans, with their small craft, have of course been the actual smugglers. Ever since national prohibition came into effect, the revenue service of the Treasury Department, with a wholly insufficient organization of vessels and men, has tried in vain to break up the smuggling. The situation has grown worse because of the increasing turpitude of the coastwise population. Too many people had become involved in one way or another in the adventures and the profits of the liquor-smuggling system.

system of liquor smuggling that had become so well established along portions of the Atlantic seaboard. In immediate charge of the fleet of destroyers that has been hovering about the rum ships with unwelcome persistence is Rear-Admiral Frederick C. Billard, who also takes his job professionally and expects to execute it. The rum fleet had come to think of itself as having vested interests, with the sanctities of international law behind it; and our own coastwise smugglers were disposed to resort to all kinds of sabotage, bribery, violence and treachery to thwart the plans of Admiral Billard.

*A Baffled Armada* But the vessels of the rum fleet could not hold their ground under the relentless patrol of the Coast Guard service, with a system of unbroken relay and with a vigilance that made the customary visits of the small shore craft no longer possible. The rum ships themselves began to suffer for lack of water and supplies; and, one after another, they broke ranks and sailed away. This does not mean an end of smuggling, but it does signify a serious attempt to uphold the dignity of the revenue laws. So far as this Coast Guard operation is concerned, the immediate question is that of smuggling rather than that of the drink traffic. It is, however, the business of General Andrews to supervise the enforcement of the prohibition law in all its aspects. No one has ever supposed that it would be possible to make everybody respect and obey the law. There have been laws against robbery and theft for thousands of years, but crimes against property are still quite prevalent. No one on that account, however, would suggest the repeal of the laws that undertake to punish burglars and pickpockets. The warfare against the rum runners will to some extent limit the supply of illicit liquors, and this will make prices higher.

*Drink Habits and Tendencies* These higher prices for the imported stuff will tend to stimulate the activity of the moonshiners; and the bootleggers will press upon our crude and callow youths and "flappers" their deadly synthetic gins, wood alcohols, and the raw whiskies with their irritating ingredient of fusel oil. Fools drink these things; and wise folk abstain. Some fools are redeemable; and others are



HON. EMORY R. BUCKNER, UNITED STATES DISTRICT-ATTORNEY AT NEW YORK

(Who is closing many law-breaking restaurants and cabarets and padlocking them for a period, by the civil process of injunction)

not. The irredeemable fools must pay the price of their folly, while people of wholesome physique and moral stamina will refuse to countenance the carrying of deadly poisons in hip flasks. We may confidently believe that college students and high-school girls whose American stomachs and nerve centers are adapted to fruits, cereals, and a milk diet, will soon see the advantages of making health and decency fashionable, and of ostracizing the users of poisons concocted of alcohol, ether, strychnine, and other habit-forming drugs. The federal district attorney at New York, Mr. Buckner, has adopted the practice of padlocking liquor-selling restaurants through injunctions. There is a good deal of evidence that the country as a whole is consuming far less of alcoholic stimulant, in proportion to the population, than in any former period. Brought here by European races, alcohol destroyed the Indians, who were adapted to the exigencies of our peculiar climate. Even in European countries, it is obvious to everybody—except those who lack the gift of seeing the things which are plainest—that alcoholic indulgence is harmful. But in America this kind of stimulant has proven itself peculiarly devastating.

*A Question  
of  
Method*

It does not follow that constitutional and statutory prohibition on the national plane, at this time, furnishes the best mode of procedure in the struggle between wholesome living and alcoholic excess. True temperance is a matter of careful training in youth and of acquired self-control in maturity. One of the most serious criticisms that may be brought against legal prohibition is to be found in the fact that it seems to have put an end to the great crusade for temperance that had so long been maintained in schools and churches, and through societies whose members were pledged to total abstinence. The idea that legal prohibition can now or ever in future prove to be a successful substitute for the exercise by individuals of will-power and moral self-control is too silly to be discussed. But this truth should not obscure the evils that flow from the legalized and unrestricted traffic in alcoholic drinks as a commercial enterprise.

*Hawaii  
and the  
Maneuvers*

The other maritime episode to which we have made reference was centered about a point that is many thousands of miles by salt water from the scenes of the "Rum War" that has been shifting its activities from the Long Island and New Jersey coasts to the Chesapeake Bay and Pimlico Sound. The army as well as the navy was fixing its attention last month on the strategic possibilities of the Hawaiian Islands. We had long ago decided to make Pearl Harbor, near Honolulu, a naval base of the utmost importance. The professional strategists, studying the maneuvers of our fleet (which sailed from San Francisco to the number of 127 vessels on April 15, under Admiral Robison), have come to the conclusion that the Hawaiian defenses should be further developed. Members of the military and naval committees of Congress are studying the facts. Every detail that relates to our weakness or to our strength—the sort of thing that would once have been kept behind the veil of professional and official secrecy—has now been discussed throughout the world in the full blaze of encouraged publicity.

*Defense  
Plans in  
the News*

Nobody as yet has quite perceived to what a great extent this kind of publicity is affecting the problems of war and peace.

What the British are doing to fortify Singapore, and what we are talking about in relation to the defenses of Hawaii, are matters quite as well known in every detail to the Japanese authorities as to the governments at Westminster and Washington. The more we talk it all over together, the more obsolete and absurd would seem to be these plans for vast expenditure to meet the anticipated attack of friendly and peaceable people who are separated from us by a wide ocean. Every enlightened statesman in Japan is aghast at the idea of a future war between his country and America. Our leaders hold that an immense development of the defenses of Hawaii would protect our Pacific Coast. From a military standpoint, there seems to be much in this claim. It would pay Japan, therefore, to help us create this strategic center as a means of insuring peace in the Pacific. Similarly, it would be a good investment for us to help Japan create such defensive strongholds as Japanese experts may deem necessary. Everybody in turn should see the wisdom of joining the British in making Singapore the "last word" in twentieth-century fortification. There might be other ways, less expensive and even more effective, for insuring the world against the horrors of international warfare. One way would be to end naval warfare altogether, and put the seas under international patrol to prevent piracy, to discourage smuggling, and to uphold the rights of commerce.

*Advantages  
in Being  
Thorough*

We agreed, in the great Washington Conference on Disarmament and the problems of the Pacific, to give up the idea of fortifying Guam, and not to execute plans that had been formed for a great expansion of our defenses at Manila and elsewhere in the Philippines. Since it was understood by everybody that we would maintain a naval base at Pearl Harbor, and fortify Hawaii, there is no real objection except the financial one to our doing the thing thoroughly. We live in a restless and rapidly changing world, and the future of the great peoples on the Asiatic side of the Pacific is likely to be fraught with transforming movements of profound significance. Asiatics, during the coming century or two, may not prove to be as well prepared for peace and quiet as are the American and British peoples today. Since we are paying for a navy, it

should be a good one, and intelligently developed; and, since we are maintaining naval and military bases at Guantanamo, on the Cuban Coast, at the Panama Canal, and at Hawaii, we should see that they are not less strong than is needful to justify their purposes.

*Our Flag  
in the  
Philippines*

It is admitted that the fortification of the Hawaiian Islands and the storage there of ample oil and naval supplies would not suffice to protect the American control of the Philippines under certain contingencies. The native leaders in the Philippines are committed to the theory of independence for their insular group, but they would prefer to remain under the American flag rather than to be made a part of the Japanese Empire. That the continuance of American sovereignty is best for the people of the Philippines in all their interests can hardly be disputed; and that the permanence of the American flag at Manila is regarded as desirable by many other governments is an obvious fact. Whether or not it is for the best interests of the people of the United States, however, to keep control of the Philippines is another matter. There are prudent Americans who think it better and safer for us to withdraw. There are other Americans, whose position is that of doctrinaires and sentimentalists, who think that we ought to withdraw in deference to the desire of native politicians to set up a Philippine sovereignty.

*Independence  
Movement  
Checked*

The Commission at Washington last winter, which represented the independence movement, was headed by Messrs. Quezon, Osmena, and Roxas. Pending in Congress was the so-called Fairfield bill, which proposed "independence after twenty years." Their own followers in the legislature at Manila are criticizing these three leaders because they were friendly to a measure that set the date of independence so far in the future. The overwhelming defeat of the Democrats in our elections last November gave a decided check to the movement for cutting the Philippines adrift. Our readers should remember that the Democratic platform declared expressly for Philippine independence. Writers and investigators who know the situation well have begun to tell plain, unvarnished truths that are strengthening the hands of Governor-



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HON. HORACE M. TOWNER, GOVERNOR OF  
PORTO RICO

General Leonard Wood. The greatest of Filipino leaders, General Aguinaldo, is upholding the authority of General Wood, and declares that the Philippines are not yet ready to get along without the protection and help of Uncle Sam.

*Philippine  
Elections  
in June*

The Jones Act of 1916 substituted an elective Senate of twenty-four members for the former Philippine Commission, and established a House of Representatives of ninety-one members in place of the old Assembly. The elections are held every three years; and an election is now to take place in the month of June. The recent legislative assembly has coöperated with General Wood much more fully upon the whole than might have been expected, in view of the previous deadlock. Our Philippine policy has been vague and uncertain enough to have encouraged the independence movement in the islands, and to have developed a corresponding sentiment in the United States. But there is no binding commitment of any kind; and American sovereignty is just as valid in the Philippines today as in Alaska. Constructive American aid has been lavished upon the islands for more than a quarter of a century.

*Affairs  
in  
Porto Rico*

Parties and factions in Porto Rico never lie down in harmony, and it would be quite inconceivable that any Governor could be appointed to supervise the public affairs of the island who could escape the ordeal of criticism. After a brief period of unusual discord in the island Governor Towner was appointed by President Harding for no reason whatever except that of conspicuous fitness. The best Porto Ricans naturally desired the advent of a Governor whose position in the United States was that of a public man of eminence and high repute. The Hon. Horace M. Towner had served on the bench in Iowa, and had afterward sat in Congress for a number of terms, where his personal standing and his influence as a legislator gave him a leading place. As chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, he was regarded as a high authority on Porto Rico and was held in esteem by intelligent Porto Ricans. He did not seek the office of Governor, but accepted it for public reasons. It is not surprising that some of the same political influences that assailed the excellent administration of Governor Yager should have been trying to undermine the prestige of Governor Towner. The partisan strivings of a compact insular community like Porto Rico are more intense than can well be understood in the United States.

*The Island  
Makes  
Progress*

Nevertheless, as viewed in perspective and from a safe distance, the delightful island of Porto Rico seems to be doing very well. The Porto Ricans are American citizens, but they live under a special dispensation. Theoretically, they ought to elect their own Governors, and in due time their island should become the forty-ninth State of the Union, with representation in Congress and with participation in our presidential elections. But the Porto Ricans will be wise if for some time to come they prefer certain practical advantages as compensation for postponing the attainment of logical aims in the realm of constitutional government. They are making steady progress in every way, and are not suffering from high taxes. Our income-tax rates are many times as high as theirs. They have full access to American markets, and their commerce and wealth have increased many fold under the American flag. Americans generally rejoice in their prosperity.

*A  
Hopeful  
Résumé*

Governor Towner's last annual report is a document of striking interest. It shows steady educational progress, and above all an improvement in health conditions that is most gratifying. The Rockefeller Foundation, acting as an agency of the Porto Rico Government, is carrying on an intensive campaign against the prevalent rural disease known popularly as hookworm; and it is also carrying on a malaria campaign. Tuberculosis prevails to a serious extent, this being due to widespread infection that has resulted from overcrowding in wretched houses, poor food, and low physical conditions associated with the presence of such other maladies as malaria and hookworm. Nothing but the most resolute application of scientific and administrative methods to the improvement of the economic and social condition of the people can eradicate these evils. But the evils are recognized, the remedies are understood and reforms are making steady progress. The greatest difficulty that Porto Rico encounters is that which comes from overpopulation and under-employment in an island almost wholly devoted to agriculture. Doubtless some further diversification of industry will in due time furnish local employment; and meanwhile a certain amount of migration to Santo Domingo or elsewhere may be necessary. A much larger number of visitors from the United States ought in years to come to bring increased wealth and employment to the Porto Ricans, inasmuch as this American island has quite as much to offer the visitor as Bermuda or any of the other island resorts now so popular.

*Tropical  
Medicine  
in Porto Rico*

The University of Porto Rico has been reorganized, and it ought to acquire popularity as a meeting place for many students from South American countries, and also for students from the United States who wish to study the Spanish language and other special subjects. A school of Tropical Medicine has been founded at the University at San Juan, which is carried on under the auspices of Columbia University in New York. This school is destined to become an international center for research and study, attracting students from many countries. The island is now recognized as producing sugar under model conditions, and it may well aspire to a place of leadership in scientific agriculture as regards a



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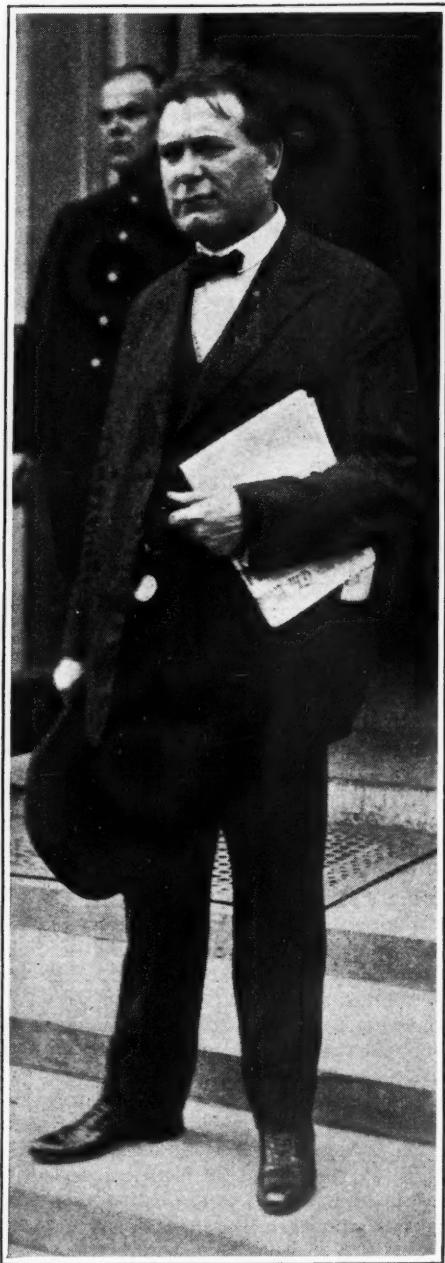
HON. CHARLES GATES DAWES, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

number of typical products. It is worth while to note that the general progress of Porto Rico during the fiscal year that will end on June 30, 1925, is certain to compare most favorably with the last year's showing.

*History as Congress Makes It* The Congress of the United States has to deal from time to time with questions the settlement of which shapes history in an important sense. Such questions were involved in the Jones law of 1916 that changed the governmental system of the Philippines, and undertook to pledge early independence as our accepted policy. Less importantly, there were matters of permanent history involved in the law of 1917 which dealt with the political status of Porto Ricans and made changes in the government of the island. We made permanent history when the Versailles Treaty failed of ratification. It is reasonable to ask whether legislative methods at Washington that tend to delay important decisions are more harmful than beneficial. Our outspoken Vice-President, Mr. Dawes, is rendering the country a real service that ought to be commended in bringing the Senate's rules and methods before the country for general discussion in this quiet season. There is much to be said on both

sides. Most Senators who have had long experience in our dignified upper chamber have found themselves taking different views at different times. Certain filibusters near the end of short sessions have seemed so outrageous, in their denial of the rights of majorities, that the most patient veterans of the Senate have at times demanded such a change in the rules as Mr. Dawes now advocates. When we want a particular thing done, we shall always be fault-finding about delays in the Senate. But, when we do not want a certain thing done, we shall continue to justify those parliamentary methods that are called filibustering when carried to an extreme.

*Senators and Their Odd Ways* Mr. Newman, in our present issue, gives us a timely statement of the facts as to existing Senate rules and as to the extent to which parliamentary bodies elsewhere have adopted plans by which a clear majority may end a debate and secure a vote. Mr. Gilbert takes up the subject rather from the standpoint of the Senators themselves, and undertakes to show us why the Senate is almost sure to remain just the sort of body that it now is. Behind Mr. Gilbert's whimsical comments and personal allusions, there is always evidence of serious study. Few



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**WILLIAM EDGAR BORAH, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IDAHO**

(Senator Borah, who will be sixty years old on the 29th of June, was educated in Illinois and Kansas, but went to Idaho to practise law thirty-four years ago. He failed of election to the Senate in 1903, but succeeded in 1907, and has been a Senator ever since. He is an orator and debater of the first rank, and, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, commands attention on all questions that relate to our international policies)

American writers understand better than does Mr. Gilbert both the theory and the practice of government as carried on at Washington. The best cartoonists nowadays rival the political writers in their characterization of men and in their setting forth of situations. Last month we published a number of friendly caricatures of public men as drawn by Mr. Berryman of the *Washington Star*. This month we have to offer some remarkable caricatures of Senators—not quite so genial as Berryman's—by a comparatively new artist, Robert James Malone, a number of whose drawings were recently exhibited in the Corcoran Art Gallery. Mr. Malone's method is his own, and it has evidently come under the influence of recent schools of impressionistic art. But these caricatures represent careful study of the victims, and painstaking effort to make the lines express the satirical artist's judgment.

*The World Court and the Senate* Perhaps the best current illustration of the methods that have aroused Vice-President

Dawes is to be found in the attitude of the Senate toward the World Court. Presidents Harding and Coolidge have both held that the country was opposed to our joining the League of Nations, but favorable to our affiliation with the World Court that sits at The Hague. As a matter of convenience in procedure, the judges of the World Court are appointed through the machinery of the League of Nations. If we should join the court, there would be no objection in any quarter to our finding a way to act without connecting ourselves with the League of Nations. Hon. Elihu Root helped to work out the World Court plan that was adopted and has gone into effect; and Hon. John Bassett Moore sits at The Hague as one of the judges. The American Bar Association, as well as the American Society of International Law, and almost every organization that is naturally interested in such matters, has stood with President Coolidge, Secretary Hughes and Secretary Kellogg, in their belief that we ought to join the court. But Senator Borah, who has become chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate by reason of the death of Mr. Lodge, is intensely hostile to the proposal, although he declared at Boston on May 11 that if the court could be completely divorced from the League he would support it.

**Mr. Borah  
Must Be  
Convinced**

We are publishing an article in this number, by Marguerite Logan Bentley, which we believe will persuade the impartial reader that there is an overwhelming American sentiment in favor of the court. It does not follow that Senator Borah should be silenced, whether during the long recess or on the floor of the Senate. But Mr. Dawes does not like the idea that we cannot join the court if Mr. Borah chooses to prevent it. We have a tendency to be in haste, and to feel that history will run off the track and destroy itself if we do not jerk the lever and close the switch. The important thing, after all, is that we should join the World Court with full understanding of all that is implied, and with the ungrudging consent of so intelligent and high-minded a gentleman as Senator Borah. There is plenty of time for as much further discussion as the senators think necessary.

**The Larger  
European  
Issues**

One may believe sincerely in the League of Nations, and may warmly support the plan of our adherence to the World Court, while looking on at the major situation in Europe that so completely ignores both of those agencies. The reader of such articles as Mr. Frank Simonds writes for our present number must realize that the peace of Europe is not now in the hands of the League of Nations, but is bound up in those efforts at adjustment which absorb the attention of the British, French, and German governments, not to mention the Little Entente, and the other characters in the cast of this great political drama. It was no surprise to thoughtful students that Marshal von Hindenburg, taking the oath as President of Germany on May 12, should have declared in tones of unmistakable sincerity that he was going to do his full duty in upholding the republican constitution. A demonstration that the Republic is safe, even at the hands of the Monarchists and Nationalists, may in the long run prove to be the best thing that could have happened. But if Dr. Marx had been elected, France would have been ready at once to complete an agreement that would have brought Germany into the League of Nations and would have given strength to those foundations of confidence and understanding without which the League functions academically and concerns itself with minor details.



**MARSHALL PAUL VON HINDENBURG, WHO  
TOOK THE OATH AS GERMAN PRESIDENT ON  
MAY 12**

**French  
Logic Is  
Sound** There can be permanent peace in Europe if Germany can convince France that no possible alternative to peace is in contemplation. Germany declares that the Alsace-Lorraine question is never to be reopened. Germany might as well make it equally clear that the present boundaries of Poland and Czechoslovakia are also to remain undisturbed, unless at some time in the future boundary questions should be opened by mutual consent, upon the basis of "circumstances that may alter cases" a hundred years from now. The new boundary lines may not have been fixed with perfect wisdom; but things of this kind when once done had better be accepted. To change boundary lines without war is almost impossible, and Germany could not risk a war any more than Austria or Hungary could. In this matter the French logic is in accord with the dominating facts.

**Caillaux  
and French  
Finance** The world looks on with anxious attention while Britain and, the new Foreign Minister of France, seeks to improve the diplomatic situation, and while Caillaux, the Finance Minister, shapes his program. He begins



THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL,  
BRITISH CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER  
(Whose financial proposals have attracted world-wide  
attention)

by measures to increase the revenues and balance the budget. He will raise a good deal of money by using the tobacco monopoly to make smokers pay more for the privilege of using nicotine in France. He will increase the income taxes, and above all will try to enforce them and make delinquents pay up. He will try, like President Coolidge, to save money by reducing the cost of government all along the line. He will take the immense domestic war debt of France and try to consolidate it on terms that will lessen the burden without injustice to investors. It might properly be refunded on the basis of the present purchasing power of the franc. If the budget were balanced as a first step, and the domestic debt adjusted as a second step, it might soon be feasible to put the monetary system of France on a gold basis, with the outstanding paper currency redeemable at its current exchange value, which is something like twenty francs to the American dollar. This could really hurt nobody except speculators, and would

be substantially just. As regards the further work of reconstruction in the devastated districts, it seems to be the plan of Caillaux to use a portion of the payments that come from Germany under the Dawes plan, while making another part of such payments apply to the foreign indebtedness of France. It was admitted last month that there had been informal communications between our own Government and that of France regarding the debt; but there was nothing definite in the news, and there could have been no reason to think that our Government would have brought any pressure to bear upon a new Finance Minister who was evidently using his utmost effort to settle certain preliminary essentials, the most immediate one being the budgetary situation.

*Churchill  
Makes a  
Sensation*

The chief topic last month in England was the budget speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. The English themselves seem to have been much more surprised than Americans at Mr. Churchill's announcement of the early resumption of gold payments. The paper money issued by the Bank of England has of late been so nearly at par that there were no difficulties worth mentioning to be faced in offering to redeem outstanding paper after a fixed date. Germany last year had gone through the drastic process of coming back to a sound money basis by giving one billion paper marks the redemption value of a single gold mark. England comes back from a paper basis without any repudiation whatsoever. France, on the other hand, could not be expected to lift the paper franc to its face value in gold. At present, the franc is worth a little more than the American five-cent piece. The franc before the war was worth something less than twenty cents.

*England  
Abandons  
Free Trade*

Mr. Churchill was able to announce some reduction in income-tax rate, and he set forth elaborate proposals for a comprehensive system of old-age pensions. But, while it may have been good politics to outline these glowing projects in a budget speech, social legislation of this kind must after all be considered on its own merits, quite apart from current budgetary matters. Apparently, the promise of universal pensions to a nation much worried by its

present burden of unemployment was intended to smooth the way for the resumption of those customs duties on luxuries, such as foreign automobiles, that Chancellor McKenna had imposed in Coalition days, and that Chancellor Snowden had repealed during the brief term in office of MacDonald's Labor Ministry. As a fighting free-trader of great renown, it might have seemed difficult for Mr. Churchill to reimpose this rather extensive scheme of protective duties; but he has more than once shown himself an adaptable statesman, who can see that tariffs and tax schedules are matters of expediency rather than of rigid principle.

**Britain and the Gold Basis** No end of expert conferences and commissions had in the last few years affirmed the desirability of Britain's return to the gold standard, at least in principle. The great question was whether the move now would be premature and whether there was any danger, from the uncertainty of world trade and the assaults of speculators on exchange, of experiencing difficulty in maintaining the pound sterling at par with the American dollar when restrictions should have been removed from the free movement of gold out of Britain. The Conservative government had prepared for the great step with canny forethought. Sir Norman Montague, Governor of the Bank of England, had been in America last winter, quietly arranging with our financial powers to work in harmony with his own people to maintain the gold standard for sterling when once it should be established. Later on, Britain arranged for a credit of \$300,000,000 in America—\$200,000,000 with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and \$100,000,000 with J. P. Morgan & Co.—as a reserve to call on if speculation in exchange should threaten the gold parity. The word "credit" here does not mean that the Federal Reserve Bank and Morgan & Co. actually loaned these large sums to the British Government, but simply that commitments were made through which the British Exchequer may avail itself of loans to this amount when and if it becomes desirable. Mr. Churchill announced further that the present British gold reserve amounts to £153,000,000. As a final bulwark against possible assaults by speculators (Mr. Churchill added with a bit of sly satisfaction), his Government has already

arranged for the purchase of American exchange to the amount of \$166,000,000, which will cover all the remittances due the United States this year on debt account.

**Other Nations Follow Suit** Simultaneously with the British return to unrestricted gold payments, the colonies took similar action. Canada, indeed, was already on a gold basis; South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand took joint action with the mother country. Mr. Churchill also announced that Holland and the Dutch East Indies joined in the movement. With the United States, Germany, Sweden, Austria and Hungary likewise on the gold basis, it is plain that an overwhelming majority of international transactions to come will be free from the uncertainties, delays, and losses inevitable in the situation we have had since the war, without the single standard of value. As Mr. Churchill aptly put it, "the standard may, of course, vary in itself from time to time, but the position of all countries related to it will vary together, like ships in harbor whose gangways are joined and who rise and fall together with the tide." A parliamentary act had restricted the payment of gold in Britain until January 1, 1926; and it came as something of a surprise that the Conservative government should anticipate the change so boldly and promptly. The actual manner of making it was simple: Leaving the present law as it is, the Government merely gave general license to trade freely in gold. The action taken does not involve a coining of gold sovereigns and half-sovereigns; the Chancellor expressly repudiated any idea of returning to the gold standard in this limited and special sense.

**Examining the Nickel Plate Mergers** Readers of this REVIEW have been reminded from time to time of a provision by Congress for consolidations of the railroads of the country into a comparatively small number of great systems; of various theoretical groupings of roads, prepared by experts. Our readers have been informed, too, of the first great merger actually undertaken, voluntarily, by the Van Sweringen brothers. This so-called "Nickel Plate" merger of the Chesapeake & Ohio, Erie, Pere Marquette, New York, Chicago & St. Louis, and Hocking Valley, was not suggested by the Interstate Commerce Commission or any other governmental body; it

was planned and promoted with extraordinary business nerve and ingenuity by these two hitherto unknown Cleveland business men who have, so far, surmounted one obstacle or objection after another. The whole matter now comes up before the Interstate Commerce Commission for approval, and as the first merger to apply for the commission's "O. K.," its fate before that body is important not only in itself but in relation to the future of the railroads and of legislation affecting them. The promoters of the Nickel Plate merger are having troubles on their hands from owners of securities in the merged railroads who think they should have been dealt with more liberally. The large public interest, however, is in the question whether the promoters will be able to prove to the Commerce Commission that the consolidation promises better service to the public and an eventual lowering of rates. There is general agreement that all controversial phases of this merger must be brought out into the light in the course of the Commission's examination; that there shall be no possibility of accusations of financial scandal later on; that both the railroads and the public are interested in the first great merger getting an intelligent and clean bill of health, if it deserves it.

*Criticisms  
of the  
Merger*

Aside from objections of interested holders of securities, the chief assaults on the Nickel Plate and other proposed voluntary mergers are based on the accusation that the entire guiding principle in such promotions is the making of earnings and the payment of dividends. In other words, the complaint is that in these voluntary mergers, as distinguished from the compulsory idea so often discussed in Congress, one does not find any disposition to join up poor roads with rich ones, so that the strong may carry the weak and so that it will not be necessary to allow high rates for the protection of the weak ones—rates which would be entirely too favorable for the strong roads. While the composition of the next Congress is such that no revolutionary railway laws could survive a presidential veto, the Interstate Commerce Commission does not like to decide large issues which Congress is currently considering; and these considerations work against a quick, clean-cut and final settlement of the Nickel Plate merger. But it is also true that the alternative to the

Nickel Plate and other such promotions—compulsory consolidations—will find much opposition on all sides, and many legal obstacles and long delays. Therefore, the Commerce Commission may very probably find its best course, in this imperfect world, to look the Nickel Plate matter over carefully and, if it finds nothing patently wrong with it, give it a clean bill of health with reasonable promptness.

*Rumors  
About the  
St. Paul*

The last few weeks have developed a number of unpleasant rumors about the receivership proceedings of the great Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad and about the management of the road during the two decades which preceded its downfall. One important metropolitan newspaper has published a series of articles by a trained special writer exploiting these rumors. A careful and unprejudiced reading of the accusations that have been made, largely by unfortunate small stockholders in the northwestern territory, does not find anything very definite or convincing to form the basis of scandal. The most common criticism of the action of the directors of the St. Paul in putting it in a receiver's hands is that the desperate move was unnecessary and that help could have been gotten from the Federal Government. The plain fact is that the St. Paul could not pay its debts maturing this summer and was not earning enough to pay the interest on its existing bonds; one fails to see how Federal aid could have remedied these troubles. The matter is referred to here because it has a real bearing on the whole present problem of the northwestern railroads—largely engaged as they are in carrying agricultural products—which is becoming almost desperate.

*The Only  
Real  
Federal Aid*

The Federal Government could not have loaned the St. Paul road enough money to pay off its French bonds this summer, because there was no fund at hand from which to obtain it. It could not have rendered any effective and lasting aid by shuffling around the securities given by the railroad for its debt to the Government. The one Federal aid that would have saved the St. Paul and which may be necessary to save other northwestern roads, of almost as much importance, would have been an upward revision of rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission which would have come

somewhere near carrying out the recommendation of Congress that the railroads are to be given such freight rates as to produce as nearly as may be  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. return on their capital value. If such rates, or anything near them, had been in existence, the St. Paul would be in fair shape to-day and other great northwestern systems would not be now wobbling financially. These points are brought out in the recent joint brief filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission by the railroads operating west of the Mississippi River. This brief was put in because of the inquiry into railroad rates, required by the Smith-Hoch resolution of Congress, aiming to ascertain whether freight charges on farm commodities could not be still further lowered. The western roads show that instead of getting the  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. return permitted by law, they got last year only 3.87 per cent.; further, that their taxes had increased 369 per cent. since 1911—decidedly more than the taxes of American railroads at large. Since 1921 there have been cuts in the rates of farm products amounting, last year, to more than \$326,000,000 in the western district. The roads complained that with these rates and taxes they do not find enough money left, after expenses, to maintain and improve their service.

*Obituary  
Record*

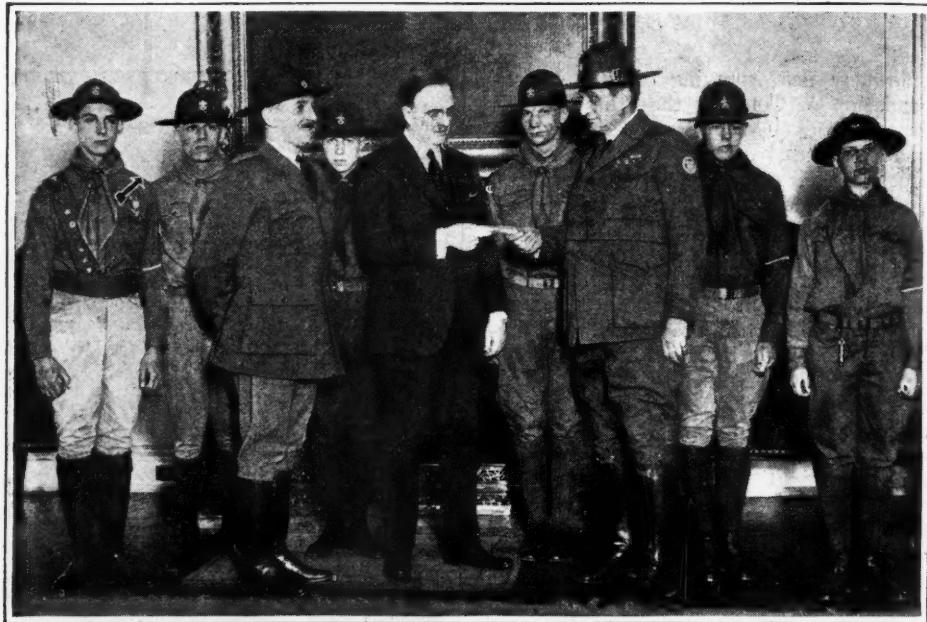
In recent months, we have referred to the fact that our obituary record seemed more extensive than usual, and that the list of well-known American names signified a loss to the country of men and women who would be greatly missed, and whose places it would be hard to fill. Our list this month is also a heavy one. Among Americans, it includes the name of Herbert Quick, whose larger fame had come somewhat late in life, but who had been well known to Western farmers for a long time past. He had been identified with the development of Iowa, and his stories of pioneer life on the prairies will long endure for their accurate descriptions and their genuine portrayals of American character. Cordenio A. Severance had been as notably identified with Minnesota as Mr. Quick had been with Iowa. Born and educated in that State, he had begun his career as a lawyer at St. Paul, in partnership with the late Senator Davis, and with Mr. Kellogg, who is now Secretary of State. Although well qualified for any public position, he had been con-



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THE LATE CORDENIO A. SEVERANCE

tent to render great service in many directions without seeking political office. His eminence at the bar was recognized by the American Bar Association, of which he was made President. He was widely known throughout the United States and many foreign countries. Miss Amy Lowell, whose sudden death is much deplored, had won a high place among our literary craftsmen, and her scholarly life of Keats had given her distinction as a biographer, adding to the reputation she had already gained as a poet. The most famous portrait painter of our generation was John S. Sargent, who has belonged in recent years almost equally to England and the United States. He was a member of the British Royal Academy, and died in London on April 15. Lord Milner had made his way to a place in the foremost group of English statesmen through sheer merit, having begun life as a brilliant young scholar and journalist. His high honors were won chiefly through his services to the British Empire in Africa and Asia. There was much in his career that ran parallel with that of the late Lord Curzon. Among the greatest of modern military leaders must be reckoned the name of Gen. Charles Mangin, who died suddenly in France on May 12.



**MAYOR HYLAN OF NEW YORK RECEIVES BUFFALO'S CHAMPION GATHERERS OF CLOTHING FOR NEAR EAST RELIEF**

(These six Boy Scouts and their leaders enjoyed the attractions of New York City for two days at the expense of the Buffalo Star, as a reward for their efforts in directing a campaign which resulted in the gathering of eight carloads of clothing for the Near East organization to send to their orphanages and refugee camps. Other cities have had similar campaigns. The clothing is made over in the orphanages, furnishing work as well as raiment)

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 15 to May 14, 1925)

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 15.—The United States Fleet sails from San Francisco under simulated war conditions, in a maneuver to "recapture" the Hawaiian Islands; there are 127 vessels, under Admiral S. S. Robison.

Miss Lucille Atcherson of Ohio is appointed the first woman in the diplomatic service; she is to be third secretary of the legation in Switzerland.

April 17.—Governor Smith vetoes ten bills passed by the Republican legislature of New York; they include provision for an executive budget, requirement for voting machines in New York City, and a measure limiting to forty-eight hours the employment of women in industry.

The Government and the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation file suits against each other over war contracts.

April 18.—The Woman's World Fair at Chicago is opened with an address by President Coolidge, broadcast from Washington.

April 19.—Vice-President Dawes speaks in Boston, at the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the battles of Concord and Lexington.

At New York, the United States District-Attorney, Emory R. Buckner, closes five more cabarets; fourteen have agreed to close for about six weeks, to avoid being padlocked for a year if injunction suits were sustained.

April 20.—The Government Foreign Service

School at Washington is opened, with twenty-five students; 200 candidates took the entrance examinations in January.

President Coolidge addresses the Daughters of the American Revolution, at their thirty-fourth congress in Washington.

April 21.—Vice-President Dawes, in a speech before the Associated Press at New York, says that "any restraint upon the people imposed by a Senate rule is a usurped governmental power not found in the Constitution."

The New York police department consolidates three training schools into a Police Academy, expected to become the greatest in the world.

April 22.—Governor Smith approves a bill supporting the McAvoy transit report for New York City and blocking Mayor Hylan's freight-passenger tunnel project for Staten Island; he vetoes the increase in teachers' salaries for New York City. . . . There have been 154 bills vetoed out of 840 passed by the legislature.

April 24.—Senator Burton R. Wheeler, after a week's trial, is acquitted by a Montana jury of the charge of receiving fees for legal services in oil cases before the Interior Department.

April 25.—In Detroit, Mich., Judge Frank Murphy publishes findings in his grand jury inquiry into city graft; recommendations are made to correct conditions and punish malefactors.

Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, speaks before the Society of International Law, and praises the World Court.

April 27.—The army-navy maneuvers off Hawaii are ended by the capture of Haleiwa, which guards the Pearl Harbor naval base, by the attacking force, embracing the fleet and a skeleton landing force of marines.

Brig.-Gen. James S. Fehet assumes his new post of Assistant Chief of Army Air Service under Maj.-Gen. Mason M. Patrick; Col. William Mitchell leaves the office—demoted possibly for excessive advocacy of a separate Air Service—maintaining that it was once difficult to get the army to adopt electricity instead of oil lamps, or the telephone, telegraph, automobile or radio.

April 28.—William S. Culbertson, of Kansas, is appointed as Minister to Rumania, succeeding Peter A. Jay, who becomes Ambassador to the Argentine; Culbertson was vice-chairman of the Tariff Commission.

The Illinois Senate passes a bill to punish burglary with a deadly weapon by from fourteen years in prison to death by hanging.

April 29.—Indiana's new consolidated liquor enforcement act goes into effect.

Governor Pothier of Rhode Island signs a bill taxing gasoline for motor vehicles one cent a gallon.

The Michigan Senate passes a bill establishing the whipping post as a penalty for armed robberies; the bill goes to conference.

Governor Pinchot signs a bill prohibiting manufacture of gambling devices.

The Florida legislature rejects the Federal Child Labor amendment.

April 30.—Governor Donahey vetoes an Ohio bill to compel daily reading of the Bible in public schools.

The Topographical survey of the United States is resumed, with the aid of airplanes and radio; the work has gone on for forty-five years and is 42 per cent. completed.

James M. Beck resigns as Solicitor-General, effective upon qualification of a successor.

May 1.—President Coolidge speaks to the members of the American Automobile Association at Washington, D. C.

May 2.—A lumber conservation committee is formed at Washington, with Secretary Hoover as chairman and Col. W. B. Greeley as vice-chairman; the other members are, Richard H. Aiston, Hugh P. Baker, Leroy E. Kern, John V. W. Reynders, D. Everett Waid, Norman W. Wilson, and Frank G. Wisner.

May 3.—President Coolidge, at the laying of the cornerstone of the Jewish Center in Washington, asks for an end of factional strife and says "the Jewish faith is predominantly the faith of liberty."

Federal tax receipts yield \$1,198,082,150 in nine months, compared with \$2,146,803,265 (under higher rates) for the same period last year.

Business men criticize the President's economy program because it has stopped public buying as well as governmental extravagance.

The Atlantic Coast Guard service is mobilized to wipe out the liquor fleet on "rum row" between Fire Island and Barnegat.

Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews orders that all smuggling be given fullest publicity.

May 5.—The Michigan Securities Commission

forbids sales of \$85,000,000 of Dodge Brothers stock in the State, because "good will" formed so large a portion of the issue.

Secretary Mellon addresses the Mississippi Bankers Association at Jackson, Miss., on tax reduction.

May 8.—President Coolidge speaks before 6,000 persons at the award of prizes for orations on the Constitution to seven high-school pupils who are selected from among 1,400,000 contestants.

It is announced that Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge will spend eight weeks at Swampscott, Mass., on vacation, leaving the White House, June 25.

May 11.—Senator William E. Borah, in a speech at Boston, analyzes the World Court in its political as well as judicial phases.

The Supreme Court of New York upholds the right of New York City, under its Home Rule law, to operate motor buses.

Secretary Hoover addresses the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World at Houston, Texas.

May 12.—In New Jersey, municipal elections result in defeat of James R. Nugent (Dem.) in Newark and reelection of Frank Hague (Dem.) and his fellow commissioners in Jersey City.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 15.—Turks report the capture of Sheik Said, leader of the Kurdish revolt.

King Boris of Bulgaria is ambushed on a highway near Sofia; he escapes injury, although two of his bodyguard are killed.

April 16.—Paul Painlevé forms a new French Cabinet, with Aristide Briand as Foreign Minister and Joseph Caillaux as Minister of Finance.

Bulgarian Communists bomb the Cathedral of Sveti Kral in Sofia at the funeral of General Gheorghieff, recently assassinated; 160 are killed.

April 19.—The Portuguese revolution is suppressed, Maj. Filomeno Camara surrendering his forces to Government troops and ex-Premier Cunha Leal having been imprisoned.

April 20.—Captain Ninkoff, Bulgarian Communist leader, is killed by Sofia police.

April 21.—The French Chamber of Deputies accepts the Painlevé Cabinet, voting 304 to 218, although Finance Minister Caillaux—recently in exile—is severely arraigned.

The Bulgarian revolutionary leader, Captain Yankoff, is killed resisting capture by Sofia police; reports of massed executions of Communists are denied; the Parliament assembles.

April 22.—Former Premier Herriot is elected president of the French Chamber of Deputies.

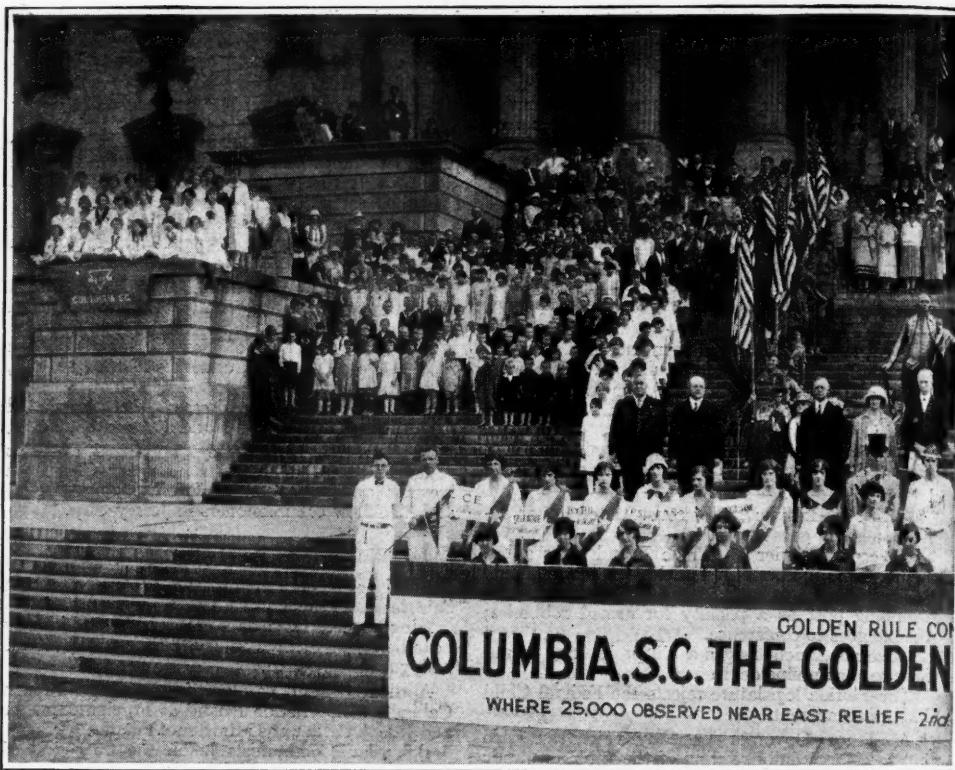
April 24.—The Portuguese Congress refuses to accept the resignation of President Gomez.

The French Chamber adopts the naval budget, 422 to 29; 40,000,000 francs are appropriated, and a five-year program calls for expenditure of 3,194,000,000 francs.

April 26.—Field Marshal von Hindenburg is elected President of Germany; the vote is as follows: Hindenburg, 14,655,766; Marx, 13,751,015; Thaelmann, 1,931,151.

Five hundred Chilean journalists organize to secure passage of old-age pension laws and relief measures.

April 28.—Winston Churchill, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, in presenting the budget to the



THE CELEBRATION, ON APRIL 17, OF GOLDEN RULE DAY AT COLUMBIA, S. C., WHERE 25,000 PERSONS DENIED THEMSELVES. THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE TRAINING OF REFUGEE CHILDREN IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS BEING MADE BY THE COUNTRY

(Our photograph shows the pageant of "Columbia, the Golden Rule City of America," on the steps of the capitol of South Carolina. The 25,000 persons who participated in the celebration were members of the Y. W. C. A.; Boy Scouts form the aisles of flags; Girl Scouts hold the Golden

House of Commons announces resumption of the gold standard; the McKenna luxury import tax is restored, and protective duties are placed on silk and hops; death duties are increased, but the supertax is reduced.

Holland and Australia adopt the gold standard.

April 29.—Chancellor Luther, in a speech before the German Industrial and Commercial Conference, says that continued occupation of Cologne by allied troops menaces European peace; he believes the mark is stabilized.

Joseph Devlin and Thomas McAllister are the first Irish Nationalists to resume their seats in the Ulster Parliament; the Boundary Commission has not yet reported.

May 2.—Italy establishes an Aeronautical Ministry in the Cabinet.

May 3.—The Congress of Salvador approves a motion prohibiting immigration of colored races.

May 4.—The House of Commons hears Philip Snowden arraign the Gold Standard bill in debate with Winston Churchill, and passes it through second reading.

May 5.—The Gold Standard bill is passed by the House of Commons.

May 7.—Leon Trotzky returns to Moscow from exile in the Caucasus, while Gregory Zinovieff is forced to leave Moscow.

May 8.—Bulgarian courts-martial sentence twenty persons to death for complicity in the recent Communist outrages.

The British Food Commission recommends that a Food Council be instituted to supervise prices and movements of wheat, flour, bread and meat, and perhaps later of milk, fish, fruit and vegetables.

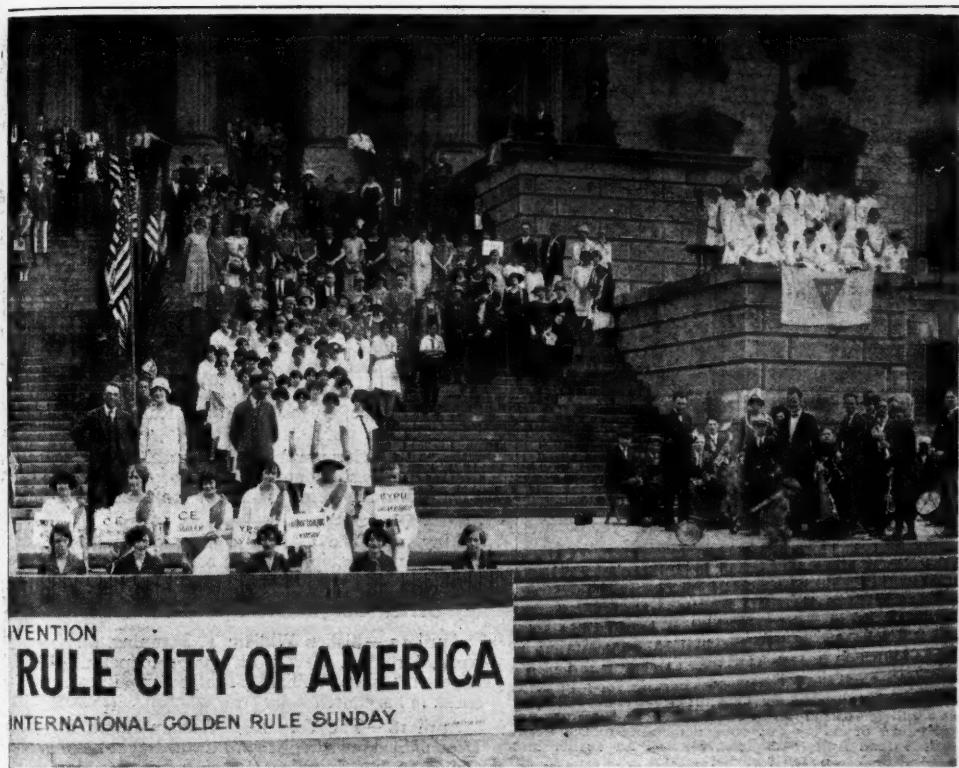
May 11.—The House of Commons passes the Finance bill through first reading; an amendment is carried, 328 to 168, to tax silk and artificial silk; the House of Lords passes second reading of the Gold Standard bill.

May 12.—Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg takes the oath as President of the German Republic.

Finance Minister Caillaux proposes to take reparation receipts out of the French budget and devote them to reconstruction and payment of war debts; the indirect tax on tobacco is raised 33 per cent.

May 13.—Leon Trotzky is elected to the Russian Soviet Cabinet.

President Machado of Cuba names his new



INVENTION  
**RULE CITY OF AMERICA**  
 INTERNATIONAL GOLDEN RULE SUNDAY

SONS PARTICIPATED LAST DECEMBER IN A NEAR EAST RELIEF ORPHAN'S DINNER AND OTHER TERRANEAN BY AMERICAN CITIES WAS LED BY COLUMBIA IN 1924, WHILE CHESTER, S. C., LED IN 1923

preceding the election of a new International Golden Rule Ambassador [see picture below] to represent the United Near East Relief organization, and Mrs. Leroy Springs were the principal guests. To the left, with the banner, Rule in the fore-ground; and the band at the right is from the University of South Carolina)

Cabinet, to take office May 20; Carlos Manuel de Cespedes continues as Foreign Minister.

M. Van de Vyvere forms a new Cabinet in Belgium, after many weeks' delay, taking the Ministry of Finance; M. Ruzette continues as Foreign Minister.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 15.—Chancellor Ramek of Austria asks the League to appoint experts to solve Austria's commercial and industrial troubles; 200,000 people are unemployed, and 75 per cent. of the paper, 80 per cent. of locomotives, and 90 per cent. of automobiles manufactured in Austria must be exported, which is impossible because of tariff walls.

Gen. Gerardo Machado y Morales, President-elect of Cuba, arrives at Washington, to meet President Coolidge; Rafael Sanchez Aballi is named as new Cuban Ambassador.

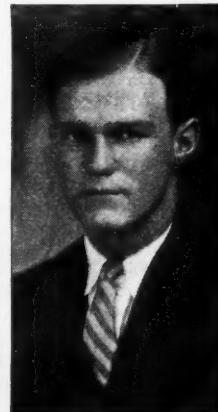
Jeremiah Smith, League Commissioner for Hungary, returns to the United States after a year's absence; the budget was balanced in six months instead of two and a half years, as expected, and two-thirds of the recent \$50,000,000 loan is held as an emergency fund.

April 20.—Tsuneo Matsudaira, Japanese Am-



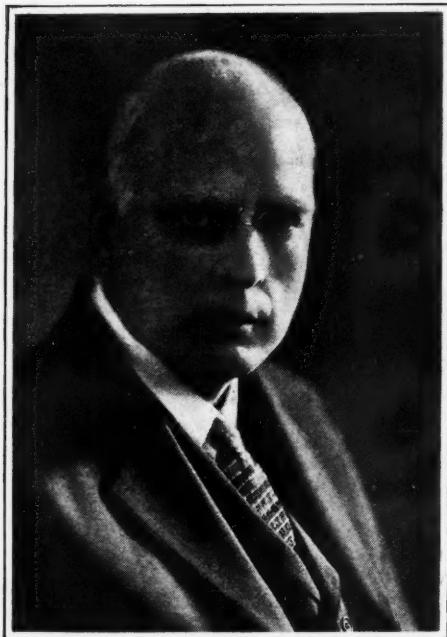
CHESTER ALEXANDER

(First Young People's International Golden Rule Ambassador to the Near East, in 1923. He is from Chester, S. C.)



RAYMOND WOOD

(Of Columbia, S. C., this year's Ambassador. He is nineteen, an athlete, Eagle Scout, orator, and freshman ministerial student)



THE LATE HERBERT QUICK

(Who died on May 10. He was born in Iowa in 1861, and practised law at Sioux City for two decades following his admission to the bar in 1889. He was a farm magazine editor of ability and note, a member of the Farm Loan Bureau from 1916 to 1924, and an author and novelist of distinction)

bassador, addresses the Federal Council of Churches at New York City, and says that the two countries are destined to live in peace for all time.

The Third International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy opens in Paris, with representatives of forty-nine nations, including the United States and South American republics.

The League of Nations receives refusals from Mexico and Russia to participate in the conference on control of arms traffic.

At La Ceiba, Honduras, 125 United States marines are landed from the warship *Denver* to protect Americans during an insurrection.

April 24.—King George and Queen Mary visit President Doumérue of France on their way home from a health cruise in the Mediterranean.

April 30.—The Soviet Government grants a concession to a British firm to mine gold in the Lena Fields of Siberia.

The Prince of Wales arrives at Cape Town, South Africa.

May 1.—The Berlin-East Prussia express is wrecked near Stargard; twenty-five persons are killed and thirty injured.

May 4.—The new American Ambassador, Alanson B. Houghton, says in a speech before the Pilgrims in London that there must be a new policy of peace, good-will, and construction in Europe, or American aid will be withdrawn.

The German-American Mixed Claims Commission reports \$93,846,054 awarded for war damages in 7,735 cases out of 12,500; the claims are to be disposed of by December.

The International Conference on Traffic in Arms is opened at Geneva; forty-three nations, including four non-members, are represented, and Count Carton de Wiart of Belgium is chosen president.

May 7.—Great Britain proposes at Geneva that warships be excluded from international control, Italy and Japan sustaining her; American proposes a ban on poison-gas exports.

Edgar L. G. Prochnik, first Minister from new Austria, presents his credentials to President Coolidge.

May 8.—The Geneva conference on arms traffic appoints Rear-Adm. Andrew T. Long and Gen. C. L. Ruggles as American experts on the committee to consider exemption of warships from limitation of arms traffic; General Soskowski (Polish) is head of the committee on the American motion to stop export of poison gas.

May 9.—Representatives of the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania—meet at Bucharest.

May 10.—Germany's April reparation payments are reported as amounting to 75,500,000 marks, of which Britain receives 25,500,000 and France 33,000,000.

May 11.—The Geneva conference excepts revolvers and warships from the ban against export of arms.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 17.—Bishop William T. Manning, of New York, forbids a New York pastor to permit the deposed Bishop William Montgomery Brown to speak in his church.

April 18.—The Very Rev. William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's (Episcopal) Cathedral at London, arrives in the United States to deliver a series of lectures.

April 19.—Faneuil Hall, in Boston, is rededicated as a part of the 150th anniversary celebration of the Battle of Lexington; General Pershing and Vice-President Dawes address the meeting; Boston, Concord and Lexington celebrate Patriot's Day.

The Associated Press celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary as a co-operative news-gathering agency without political or economic propaganda; Kent Cooper is appointed General Manager, succeeding Frederick Roy Martin; there are 1198 members.

Roosevelt Medals for Distinguished Service are awarded to Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania and noted conservationist, to Martha Berry of the Berry Schools, Georgia, and to George Bird Grinnell, promoter of outdoor life (see page 593).

April 20.—The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) rejects the \$3,000,000 art collection of the late Senator William A. Clark; it is to go to the Corcoran Gallery of Washington, D. C.

Edward M. Woolley, Yale dramatic coach, resigns; Prof. George Pierce Baker, of Harvard, had been engaged to establish the Yale Department of Dramatics this fall.

The International Town, City and Regional Planning Conference meets at New York City.

April 21.—The Japanese freighter *Raifuku Maru* sinks off Nova Scotia with all hands (38).

April 23.—In New York City, the thermometer rises to 83 degrees and people go swimming; and in Chicago, Ill., the temperature reaches 86 degrees; but in Butte, Montana, there is a snowfall of seventeen inches.

The receivers of the New York (street) Railways announce that they will resume company control on May 1, after six years of insolvency.

April 26.—The 1924 Pulitzer prizes for journalism are awarded to Edna Ferber, Sidney Howard, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and James W. Mulroy and Alvin H. Goldstein.

April 27.—The Madison Square Garden tower and its famous Saint-Gaudens "Diana", in New York City, are arranged to be torn down and rebuilt on the New York University campus.

April 28.—The French International Exposition of Decorative and Applied Arts is opened at Paris.

April 29.—Miss Florence Rena Sabin is elected the first woman member of the National Academy of Sciences.

May 2.—The U. S. Navy's seaplane *PN-9* makes a new record for sustained flight, remaining aloft for 28½ hours and traveling 2,300 miles.

Elihu Root is succeeded by Nicholas Murray Butler as head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

May 3.—The dirigible *Los Angeles* sails from Lakehurst, N. J., to Porto Rico, with mail.

The thirteenth annual convention of the United Synagogues of America is opened in Atlantic City.

May 4.—The International Council of Women assembles at Washington, D. C., with delegates from thirty-eight affiliated National Councils, "to mother the world into peace and confidence."

The Very Rev. Dr. Serapio Tamayo, of Manila, becomes Master General of the Dominican Order.

May 8.—The Government towboat *Normand* sinks in the Mississippi River near Memphis, and twenty-three excursionists are drowned.

The American Construction Council meets at New York, with a program for better building construction.

The Makwar Dam, on the Blue Nile, in the Sudan, is completed in advance of contract; it cost £6,000,000 and will open up 300,000 acres for cotton culture; irrigation canals will be finished July 1.

May 9.—The second British Empire Exhibition is opened at Wembley, England.

The World Advertising Convention opens at Houston, Texas.

May 12.—An International Police Conference opens at New York City, with 100 foreign experts from forty-four nations and 400 American police chiefs attending.

#### OBITUARY

April 16.—David Talbot Day, noted geologist and authority on oil, 66. . . . Samuel Peter Rolt Triscott, water-color painter, of Maine, 79. . . . Augusto Rivalta, Italian sculptor, 87.

April 17.—Gothelf Pach, noted photographer, 73. . . . Thomas Snell Hopkins, of Washington, D. C., international lawyer, 79.

April 18.—Charles H. Ebbets, National League baseball magnate, of Brooklyn, N. Y., 67. . . . Richard Augustus Purdy, banker and poet, 62.

April 19.—John Walter Smith, former United States Senator and ex-Governor of Maryland, 80. . . . Rt. Rev. William Reid Clark, Anglican Bishop of Niagara, 77.

April 20.—Sir Rickman John Godlee, English surgeon and biographer of Lister, 76.

April 21.—Mme. Olga Novikoff, long an un-

official Russian diplomat in England, 85 (see page 655).

April 24.—George Andrew Sanderson, secretary of the United States Senate, 75. . . . Sir Augustus Nanton, Canadian financier, 65.

April 26.—Brig.-Gen. George Pennington Borden, U. S. A., retired, veteran Indian fighter, 81.

April 27.—Maj.-Gen. Edgar Russell, U. S. A., retired, Chief Signal Officer in A. E. F., 63.

April 28.—Louis Bouwmeester, distinguished Dutch actor, 82.

April 29.—Richard Haines Halsted, stock broker, 71. . . . Ralph D. Paine, author and war correspondent, 54.

April 30.—Arthur B. Williams, Representative in Congress from Michigan, 53. . . . Dr. Albin Haller, noted French chemist, 76.

May 2.—Albert Augustus Boyden, magazine editor, 50. . . . Maj. William Halsted Wiley, Civil War veteran and publisher of scientific works, 83. . . . Most Rev. Louis Theissling, Master General of the Dominican Order (Catholic), 69.

May 3.—Charles Foster Kent, Yale authority on Semitic languages, 57.

May 4.—Dr. Johann Palisa, Austrian astronomer. . . . Clement Ader, French aviator, 84.

May 5.—Dr. Louis Bevier, former dean of Rutgers College, 68. . . . Fredrik Wilhelm Thorsson, Swedish financier, 60. . . . Sen. Giovanni Battista Grassi, Italian malaria expert.

May 6.—Cordenio Arnold Severance, of St. Paul, former president of American Bar Association, 62. . . . William Hesketh Lever (Lord Leverhulme), British soap manufacturer, 74.

May 7.—Maj.-Gen. Harry Hill Bandholtz, A. E. F. Provost Marshal General, 60. . . . Adm. Sir Frederick Sturdee, who commanded the British Fleet in the battle off the Falkland Islands, 66. Henry John Brinsley Manners, Duke of Rutland, 73. . . . Boris Savinkoff, Russian anti-Bolshevist.

May 8.—Ercole Cantelmo, Italian-American editor, 53. . . . Edmond Thery, French political economist, 70.

May 9.—Col. Samuel Barker Amidon, Kansas lawyer, 63. . . . Fernando Miranda Casellas, sculptor, 83.

May 10.—Herbert Quick, noted author and editor, 64. . . . Dr. Kay I. Sanes, Pittsburgh gynecologist, 55. . . . William Ferguson Massey, Premier of New Zealand, since 1912, 69. . . . Alexander Marghiloman, former Prime Minister of Rumania, 72.

May 11.—Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, genealogist, 76.

May 12.—Amy Lowell, poet, 51. . . . Gen. Charles Mangin, noted French war leader, 66. . . . Maj.-Gen. Arthur Murray, U. S. A., retired, 74. . . . Rt. Rev. William Day Reeve, Anglican Bishop of Toronto, 81. . . . Leonce Benedite, curator of Luxembourg and Rodin Museums, Paris.

May 13.—Viscount Alfred Milner, former British Secretary of War, 71. . . . William Henry Knight, California author, 90. . . . Baron Ferdinand von Stumm, German diplomat, 82.

May 14.—Sir Henry Rider Haggard, noted British novelist in politics, 68. . . . Charles Salmon, Representative in Congress from Tennessee, 57.

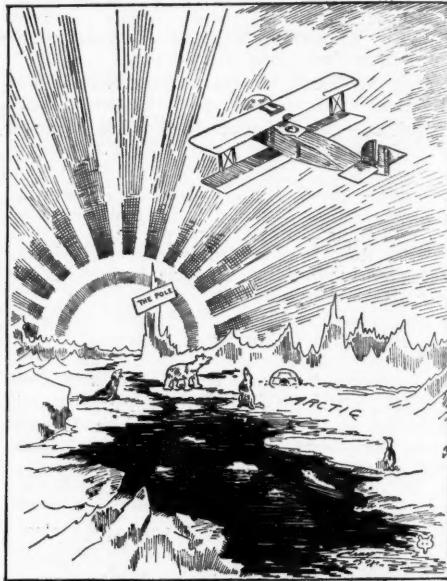
# POLITICS IS ADJOURNED

## THE APPROACH OF SUMMER, IN CARTOONS



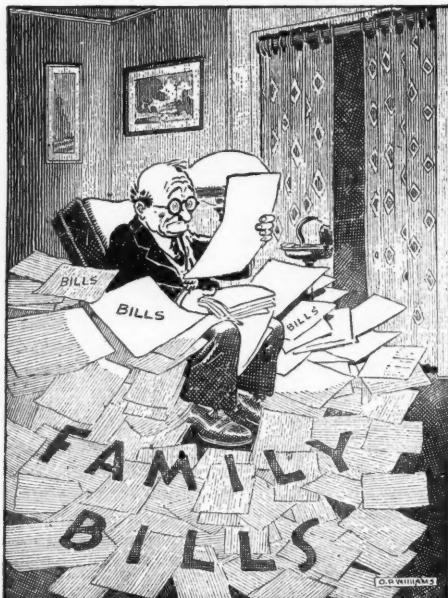
### MORE ECONOMY!

(President Coolidge requests official Washington to talk less)  
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



### A NEW BIRD THAT WILL SOON BE SEEN IN THE NORTH

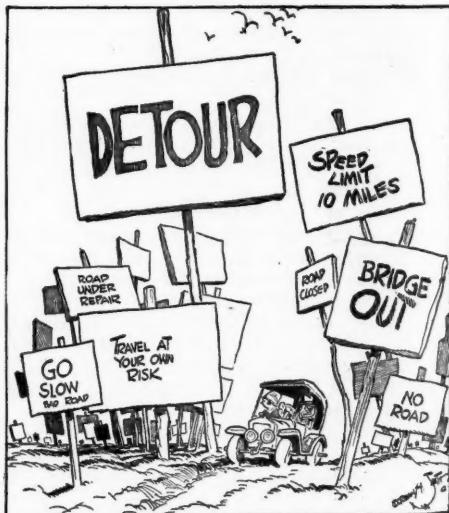
From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)



### NO EVIDENCE OF A "BUYERS' STRIKE" HERE

From the *American* (New York)

588



### ALL THE SIGNS OF SPRING

From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

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## WHY NOT?

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, O.)

[Our readers will be glad to know that the cartoonist, "Ding" —Jay N. Darling—referred to in the cartoon at the right, is on the road to recovery after a severe illness. Influenza is enough for most folks; but Ding had to fight, also, an obstreperous appendix. Although a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Mr. Darling had kept his home in Iowa and his connection with the *Des Moines Register*. His work in recent years has been syndicated and published in papers all over the country. No cartoonist, probably, has a wider circle of appreciative and interested friends]



## THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S FIRST RECRUIT

From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)  
[Senator Butler of Massachusetts has publicly expressed approval of Mr. Dawes' proposal that the Senate's rules be amended to limit debate.]



## A FIGHTING CARTOONIST

From the *Register* (Des Moines, Ia.)  
[See comment in the first column on this page]



#### HE HAD BEEN OFF HIS GAME

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



## FRANCE'S PLIGHT

FRANCE: "Save me, I am drowning, but don't use that hook!"  
From the *Evening Express* (London, England)



A CLANDESTINE PRINTING OF BANK NOTES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY  
(After an old engraving by Roigny-Jehan)

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

(Referring to a situation in the last days of the ministry of Premier Herriot in France, when it was claimed that the Government was printing paper money in excess of the legal limit)

The two principal foreign topics of recent weeks have been the German presidential election and the French ministerial crisis which resulted in the resignation of Premier Herriot. On the opposite page is gathered representative cartoon comment

upon the election of Field Marshal von Hindenburg by the German voters. On this page the reader will note especially a series of caricatures of leading members of the new Painlevé ministry in France by a clever and popular Parisian caricaturist.



PAINLEVÉ, PRIME MINISTER    CAILLAUX, FINANCE MINISTER    BRIAND, FOREIGN MINISTER  
THREE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE NEW CABINET IN FRANCE AS SEEN BY THE FRENCH  
CARICATURIST, CABROL



[With

Hinden



THE TANNENBERG OF THE REPUBLIC

HINDENBURG: "Your Majesty may be at ease—I settled the Russians, and I shall settle the Republic."

From *Vorwärts* (Berlin, Germany)



THE GOOSE STEP AGAIN

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)

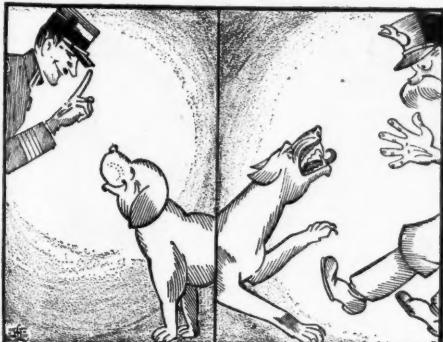
The choice by the German voters of Marshal von Hindenburg as the first elected president of the Republic has aroused world-wide comment. The cartoonists naturally have found in this situation many opportunities for their clever pens and pencils.



"YOU SIGN; WE WILL DO THE REST!"

From *Götz von Berlichingen* (Vienna, Austria)

[With the Crown Prince and Admiral Tirpitz urging him, Hindenburg signs]



Facing France

Facing Poland

THE GERMAN HOUND

From Mucha (Warsaw, Poland)



AN AMERICAN CARTOON USED IN THE GERMAN ELECTION

[Under the heading "America Amuses Herself" the *Vorwärts*, of Berlin, reproduced this cartoon by Rollin Kirby of the *New York World*, in which Marshal von Hindenburg is pictured as addressing his audience of German voters with these words: "Cannon Fodder—I mean Fellow Citizens." Meanwhile, this very paper, *Vorwärts*, in its own cartoon, also reproduced on this page, places the military leader in much the same light.]



TOWING HOME AN INVENTION WHICH WAS NOT A SUCCESS

(Soviet leaders are now encouraging private enterprise, owing to the failure of the Bolshevik economic policy)

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)

The cartoon from the Brooklyn *Eagle*, reproduced below, evidently refers to an address by Ambassador Houghton at London. As is customary, the Pilgrims Society tendered a welcoming dinner to the new am-

bassador; and he chose the moment to declare that the full measure of American helpfulness to Europe will come only when 'destructive methods and policies have ceased and peaceful upbuilding has come.



"I'LL GIVE YOU A LIFT, IF YOU'RE GOING MY WAY"

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



TRYING OUT THE ICE FOR THE KAISER

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



STUDENTS AT THE BERRY SCHOOLS FOR MOUNTAIN GIRLS AND BOYS, IN NORTHWEST GEORGIA,  
PHOTOGRAPHED UPON THE OCCASION OF A VISIT OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

## MARTHA BERRY AND HER PATRIOTIC WORK

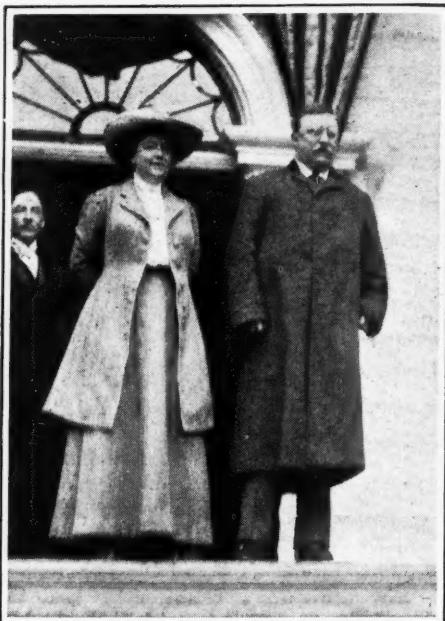
BY ALBERT SHAW

[The trustees of the Roosevelt Memorial Association last year awarded medals to Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Mr. Elihu Root, and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. This year the medals have been conferred upon Governor Pinchot, Mr. George B. Grinnell, and Miss Martha Berry. The three following articles give account of the careers of the three to whom medals were awarded at the White House on May 15.—THE EDITOR]

CIVILIZATION is always beginning over again, and no country—not even China—finds itself either stabilized or static, except relatively or for a brief moment of historic time. Some of the changes that we see going on about us in the United States are painful to those who had set their hearts upon the attainment of an ideal, and the continuance of certain familiar and cherished conditions. Such changes, however, are not so disagreeable to people who do not happen to share in devotion to the things that are breaking down. Thus the inheritors of the proud old New England traditions must be shocked to learn that fully one-half of all the children born last year in the city of New Haven were of Italian parentage, and that only a fraction of the remaining half are of the early New

England stock. The University of Pavia in Italy on May 5 celebrated its eleventh centenary, while Yale University is only in its third century. With present population tendencies at New Haven, Yale itself may have become another Italian university two hundred years from now. There are places in Massachusetts, famed in the annals of our New England Puritan civilization, that are now predominantly French-Canadian.

After all, these changes of racial stock may prove to be less important than some of the descendants of English colonists might suppose. The newer population elements who are now enjoying the economic, social, educational, and political institutions of New England are not likely to destroy what is best in the heritage of our first three



MISS BERRY AND THE FORMER PRESIDENT,  
AT THE BERRY SCHOOLS IN 1910

centuries. There is, we may well believe, a leadership inspired by large vision that will safely guide the further development of New England through the critical decades of the twentieth century.

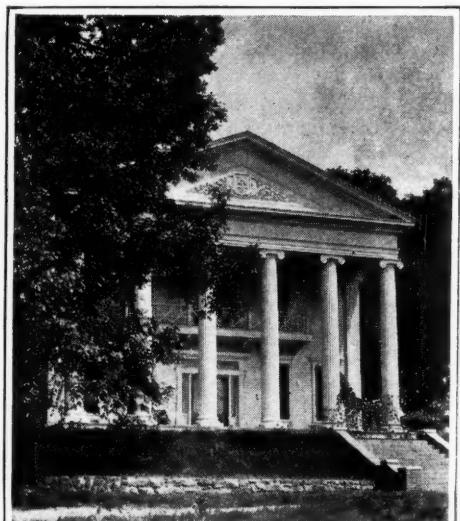
In the South, the difficulties presented by economic and social transition are even more obvious to studious onlookers than are those of New England and New York. There are, for instance, the particular problems arising from the presence of ten million people of negro blood who have increased from the three or four millions who were emancipated in 1863. These phenomenal situations have brought valuable leadership into being, with results that must be regarded as encouraging by those who are best qualified to judge.

There were, perhaps, six million white people living in the slave states who were not slave-holders, and who were greatly disadvantaged by the social and economic conditions that slavery and the plantation system had created. These white people, to a great extent, had found themselves driven to the highland regions, where they lived in a primitive way as small farmers. They knew nothing of towns and cities, and were isolated in their local communities through lack of roads and by reason of the

topography of the Appalachian wilderness. They were of English and Scotch ancestry, and a people of fine natural qualities, sturdy in physique and mentally capable, and peculiarly susceptible to moral and religious influences. But their contacts with the rest of the world grew ever less, and their standards declined in every way, with the depletion of their thin hillside soils and with their scanty opportunities. The first generation in mountain cabins may be adventurous and energetic; but later generations do not thrive if they continue to live under those same improvised conditions.

There has been no more definite need for "uplift work," to use a hackneyed phrase, than that which has been presented by the condition of these Southern mountaineers. They were more numerous than the Southern negroes, while far less accessible for educational and philanthropic endeavor. Moreover, they were a proud people, suspicious of meddlesome intruders, and not supplicants for aid of any kind.

The development of Southern industries has recently been taking advantage of hydro-electric power of the rushing Appalachian streams; has been using forest resources; has opened coal mines and mineral deposits; and has found among the mountaineers great numbers of capable workers. Educational institutions of one kind and another, largely promoted by the religious denominations of the South, have



THE OLD BERRY HOMESTEAD AT OAKHILL.  
NEAR ROME, GA.

made a marked impression in many localities. The improved State and county school systems, with steadily increasing funds raised by taxation, are slowly but surely making their way into the mountain counties, with hopeful results.

But the work of educating our Appalachian mountaineers is, after all, just begun. It is well worth while, because the American citizenship that results from the training of these people is of the highest quality. We intend, as a national policy, to make good Americans out of the newer elements of European immigration. But we shall have a hard time of it if we spend all our money and effort in the hot-house culture of the children of the tenements of New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and other great cities, while we neglect the old American stock of our rural regions, and particularly this immense undeveloped resource of a fine American population in the Appalachian uplands.

It is true that ultimately the greater part of the money needed for education will be derived from taxation, and expended through the agencies of our public school system. But, in order to make that system of education function vitally, and produce the best results, there must be leadership endowed with imagination and trained in the wisdom that results from the best experience, and from the knowledge at once of local conditions and of the contrasting circumstances of other regions. Any leader, therefore, at this juncture, who is training leaders—and, above all, any person who is so inspired as to be able to create an institution that produces leadership of the best kind—is worthy of all praise and deserving of hearty support as well as grateful recognition.

Such a leader is a well-known Georgia woman, Miss Martha Berry. She was born on a plantation several miles from the city of Rome, in northwest Georgia. This plantation is in an upland district that is on the edge of the higher Appalachian belt. Miss Berry, with her sisters, had all the



MISS MARTHA M. BERRY, WHO RECEIVES THE ROOSEVELT MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN PROMOTING THE WELFARE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

advantages of education and travel that the most fortunate American girls enjoy; but while still a child she became interested in the poverty-stricken children who drifted down from the cabin homes of the mountain sides a few miles farther North and West. She began to teach a few of them on Sundays, and then became a Sunday School missionary, as it were, within driving distance of her home.

In due time Miss Berry established a small day school on a portion of the family plantation that had come to her from her father. Gradually, though rapidly, there grew in her mind the conception of a permanent institution, that would take mountain boys and give them a sound education while training them for agriculture and practical trades. It is not the purpose of these remarks to give an elaborate account in detail of the famous Berry Schools that have resulted from efforts that had their beginning less than twenty-five years ago, but we may characterize briefly the methods and results. After a few years of experience with the school for boys, Miss

Berry found practical reasons for establishing a school for their sisters, with its own teachers and its separate régime, but essentially connected with the older school.

Into the founding of the project as a whole Miss Berry did not hesitate to merge her own modest inheritance, which was deeded to a board of trustees, mostly citizens of Georgia, with a few living in New York and elsewhere in the North. Gradually the school acquired adjacent lands, until it now has a domain of about six thousand acres. Its equipment of buildings and school appliances from very small beginnings is already not only creditable but important, and in some respects unique. Practical work and classroom study have gone hand in hand from the outset.

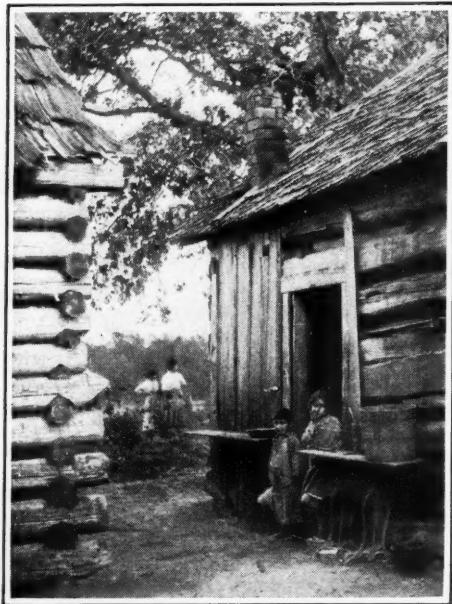
With much of the land well timbered, the sturdy mountain boys have helped to build many of the log structures that have served the earlier purposes of the school. These are by no means unsightly or undignified. Everything that has been done under Miss Martha Berry's direction has the touch of beauty and fitness. Thus the group of log buildings that serves the present purposes of the girls' school is as charming as those typical Adirondack "camps" that ac-

complished architects like to construct from materials that were used by the early pioneers. These log buildings must in due time, of course, give way to more lasting and commodious houses designed in harmony with the brick buildings that are gradually replacing the temporary structures of the boys' school.

There is hardship and sacrifice to be endured in the formative period of an institution like these Berry Schools; and yet the development of character that comes, through having a part in the creative work that gives reality to such a dream, is a reward that pays abundantly for much self-denial. Some four or five thousand young men have already had their experience of life and work and study in the Berry Schools, a great majority of whom are now engaged in farming. They are no longer illiterate or shiftless. They have seen what is best in modern farm practice in the fields and barns of the admirable school farm that is directed by the most competent experts. Each one of them is helping to improve the life of some neighborhood—principally in Georgia and Alabama, though they are to be found in widely scattered places.

The boys' school has a present capacity of four hundred pupils, and the girls' school of half that number. It would be impossible to find more hopeful, loyal, and enthusiastic student bodies anywhere in the world than in these companion schools on the Berry domain. Training for practical life is the chief object of the Berry Schools; yet the quality of the purely academic instruction is exceptionally good. The mentality of these young people from the mountains has been spared that loss of freshness and directness that sometimes results from long years of grinding through the routine of successive "grades." There are boys at Berry who could not read or write at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and who at nineteen or twenty show as great mental development as the average senior in a northern college.

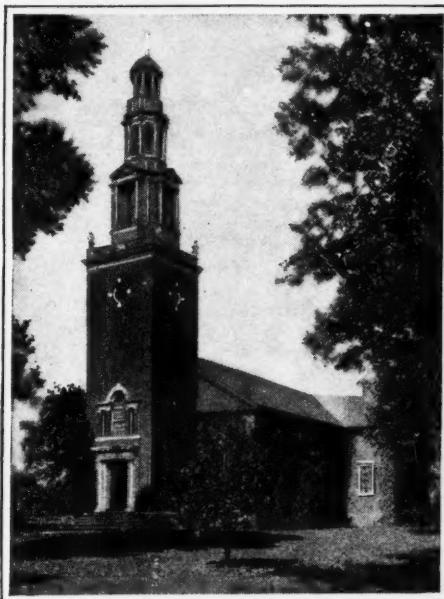
The Berry Schools do not attempt college work, and realize that most of the pupils must go back to the farm, or engage in some other kind of practical work. A good many Berry pupils, however, are fitted for college and they are highly welcomed in the University of Georgia at Athens, in the famous scientific institution at Atlanta known as "Georgia Tech," and in other southern colleges.



A MOUNTAIN HOME IN NORTHWEST GEORGIA  
(From such cabins as these come the girls and boys who attend Miss Berry's schools)

Meanwhile, the influence and the leadership of Martha Berry have not been confined to the work of the schools that she has herself founded and directed. Many other efforts for the education of backward southern regions have been helped by her eloquent words and her inspiring example. The uplifting of millions of people is not a task to be achieved by one institution, nor yet by a hundred. Neither is it a thing that can be accomplished by a spurt of effort, and then regarded as finished. It must require the associated effort of many agencies, with the full understanding that these must operate continuously—not through a single quarter-century merely, but through many. The success of one noble effort of this kind helps all the others.

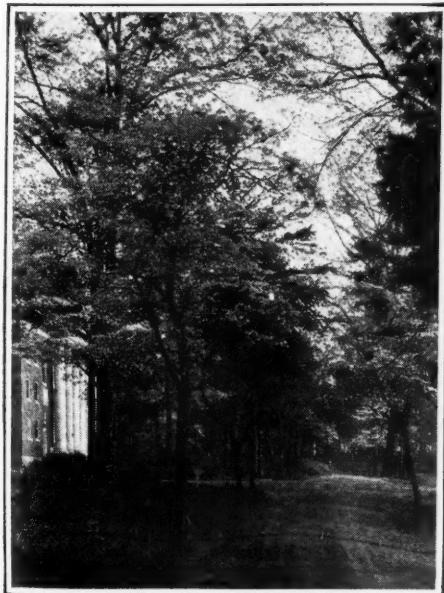
Furthermore, to confer honor and public recognition upon one leader in such good work is intended to distinguish the work itself, and thus to bestow the meed of praise upon all who are similarly devoted to efforts toward the same large object. Thus the selection this year by the Roosevelt Memorial Association of Miss Martha Berry as the recipient of a medal (presented by President Coolidge at the White House on behalf of trustees of the association) is to be regarded as representative, while it is also personal. The medals of the association



THE CHAPEL—COPIED FROM THE CHURCH  
AT ALEXANDRIA, VA., WHERE WASHINGTON  
WORSHIPPED

are awarded for great and conspicuous public service, and for fruitful leadership in some large but definite sphere of activity. All workers for the welfare of the humble American home, for the training of childhood, and particularly for the redemption of the rural districts of America that have not kept pace with the progress of our times, will welcome the discernment that has singled out Martha Berry for a tribute.

Labors such as those that have absorbed the energies of Martha Berry are the outcome of faith and enthusiasm. Here we find patriotism in the highest sense of the word. Happily, we have leaders who are endowed with faith in the future of the country, and with the enthusiastic belief that it is worth while to meet untoward drifts and tendencies with constructive effort. They do not admit for a moment either that our older American population elements are hopelessly decadent, or that our newer elements are too heterogeneous and too "different" to become fully and soundly Americanized. Recipients of such honors as those that the award of the Roosevelt medals is intended to confer are all of them men and women who believe that it is worth while to help make a finer America.



RECITATION HALL, IN A GROVE OF DOGWOOD  
TREES, AT THE BERRY SCHOOLS



TWO RECIPIENTS OF THE ROOSEVELT MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE—GOVERNOR PINCHOT AND MISS BERRY—WITH COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT THE BERRY SCHOOLS IN 1910

“G. P.”

BY CHARLES LATHROP PACK

(President, American Tree Association)

GOVERNORS of forty-six States were met in response to a call of the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. They had come to discuss the question of conservation, which, virtually for the first time, had become a vital issue. At last the public had been aroused to the use and abuse of our natural resources. Undoubtedly time will make historic this meeting of May, 1908, at the White House.

Calling the meeting to order, Mr. Roosevelt said: “Especial credit is due to the initiative, the energy, the devotion to duty, and the farsightedness of Gifford Pinchot, to whom we owe so much of the progress we have already made in handling this matter of the coördination and conservation of natural resources. If it had not been for him, this convention neither would nor could have been called.”

This was the tribute of a chief to a loyal servant. It was my privilege to be present in a consulting capacity at that meeting, and to hear the deep sincerity which rang in Theodore Roosevelt's voice.

There can be no more fitting sequel to that event and what it represented than the

conferring upon Mr. Pinchot of the Roosevelt Memorial Association Medal for notable achievement in one of the fields of activity close to the heart of his former chief and friend. Theodore Roosevelt would have had it so.

Gifford Pinchot was graduated from the Yale University, in 1889, with an abiding interest in forests, and what we know as conservation. In terms of material possessions he was faced with no need of following the arduous, and often thankless, path he chose. But the forest called. There were then no schools of forestry in the United States, so the young man sought that school which has trained so many for forestry at Nancy, France.

For a year the young man studied sylviculture and other phases of forest culture not then recognized in our country. He closed this apprentice period with a tour of the forests of Germany and Switzerland, in company with English forestry students and under the guidance of Sir Dietrich Brandis, inspector-general of the Indian forests.

It is safe to say that Gifford Pinchot returned to the United States with a

greater knowledge of what the word "forestry" signified than any man then in this country. After a tour of the west and British Columbia, to study the forests, he went to the Vanderbilt estate at Biltmore, North Carolina. There, on its private old fields and forests, it was my privilege to see him set about to demonstrate what he had learned. He applied the theory that the forests could and should be maintained as a crop if they are to meet the demands of progressing civilization. He established the first forestry shrine in America.

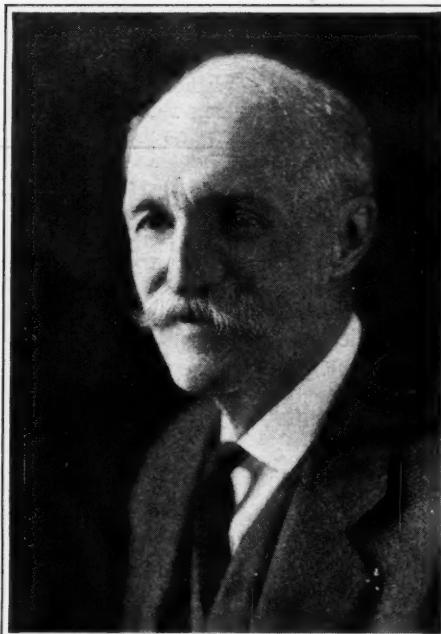
It was inevitable that the work and study that Mr. Pinchot had been giving to forestry for the love of it would call him to the public service—to serve there, also, largely for the love of it. The first murmurings of forest conservation of any consequence were being heard. A committee was appointed to investigate and report on the inauguration of a rational policy that might be applied to the public forest lands. Mr. Pinchot here served, and it was this committee that drew the boundaries of the forest reserves that Grover Cleveland proclaimed in 1897. For the Interior Department he examined and reported on these forest reserves, and in 1898 he became Chief of the Division of Forestry.

With an appropriation of \$125,000 and a personnel of ten, including clerks, this division was going along in an obscure way. It faced an indifferent, if not unfriendly, Congress. It lacked public interest and, therefore, support. It was a starveling infant bureau.

What the Division of Forestry needed was Gifford Pinchot. What Gifford Pinchot needed was the Division of Forestry. It offered him the opportunity to create and build upon small beginnings a structure into which he could pour all his apostolic zeal for a cause that he loved.

The decade of Gifford Pinchot's stewardship of the nation's forest was a decade of burdening work for him. It was a period in which the idea of conservation had to be nurtured into a fact. Dramatization and education were essential. Misinformation and misunderstanding had to be corrected. Interests, hostile through ignorance and selfishness, had to be reconciled, regulated or educated. It was a task that called for the utmost devotion to public service, patience and courage in the face of assault.

Gifford Pinchot stood the test. He met Congress on its own ground, and, reasoning



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HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT, WHO RECEIVES THE ROOSEVELT MEDAL FOR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF CONSERVATION

with its members individually and collectively, he converted them to a forestry viewpoint. His personality, his frankness, his facts, his achievements won him support. And all of this time he enjoyed the friendship and encouragement of Theodore Roosevelt.

When the stock-raisers were aroused by certain regulations restricting the grazing of their stock, Gifford Pinchot went to meet them. Many of these men journeyed to Denver to "show this man Pinchot where he got off." They went away from Denver agreeing that "this fellow Pinchot is all right." His personality had won the stock-raisers at that meeting, his reasoning had convinced them.

Within the Forest Service, as it later came to be known, Gifford Pinchot established, first, *esprit de corps*. He created the present division of responsibility. He sought always to encourage initiative. With the increasing funds that Congress granted him, reaching \$3,000,000 by the end of his service, he built the field force; created the nation-wide yet wieldy organization of today; inspired the greatly increased ranks with his own spirit.

So far as the forests were concerned, Mr. Pinchot set up a policy of using these public areas to the fullest extent possible without endangering them. Without favoritism he fought abuse. Realizing that an aroused public sentiment was essential to the success of his policy, he always earnestly solicited the public interest.

It is unnecessary here to review the circumstances that brought about Mr. Pinchot's retirement, in 1910. This is a story of politics, mixed with the abuse of the public trust that now and then creeps into public life. Suffice it to say that Mr. Pinchot uncovered what he regarded as wanton exploitation, fought it with all his power, and, although it lost him for a time to the public service, his fight gave muscle to the cause in which he fought.

As a man, Gifford Pinchot is friend of king and cook. He is kind and keen. He loves the out-of-doors with vigor, for he is a vigorous man. He is a man of ideas, accustomed to act upon them quickly and to stand by them unremittingly. He will fight if necessary and is endowed with boundless energy.

As a national public servant, Gifford Pinchot was devoted to the public welfare.

His regard for the trust of the public in placing in him confidence and responsibility was of the highest. It was not betrayed.

Forecasting, in a way, this latest honor that has come to Gifford Pinchot, a writer in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for January, 1909, said:

Call him a dreamer if you will, he dreams for the welfare of the people. Say he is an enthusiast, but an enthusiast seeking to safeguard the people's rights. But never forget that when dealing with Gifford Pinchot you are face to face with an intensely practical, hard-headed, farsighted man to whom self-interest is never a consideration, to whom the right is always the controlling motive.

Indeed, Gifford Pinchot is well chosen to join the other eight who have received the Roosevelt Medal. He gave much of himself to his chief. He devised and fought for the policies of conservation that so distinguished the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt. In return his chief placed in him the utmost confidence and accorded him unqualified support.

Gifford Pinchot has achieved nobly and notably in a field of activity that drew Theodore Roosevelt. He has built well a structure of conservation that is standing and will stand the test of time.

As "G. P." he is known to thousands.

## GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL

BY MADISON GRANT

THE Roosevelt Medal for services in the promotion of outdoor life recently conferred on George Bird Grinnell is a long delayed public recognition of a great naturalist, conservationist and authority on Amerinds. Self-effacement and that quality of simplicity which is akin to greatness sooner or later compel the attention even of this heedless generation and it is a profound satisfaction to Mr. Grinnell's admirers to have this belated acknowledgment take so satisfactory a shape.

George Bird Grinnell, son of George Blake and Helen A. Lansing Grinnell, was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., September 20, 1849. The Grinnells are of French-Huguenot stock. The first Grinnell in America, Mathew, left his father's chateau of Pimont in Burgundy and came to this country. He landed at Newport, R. I., in 1630, and settled at Portsmouth, where he

was made freeman in 1638. On Grinnell's mother's side he inherits from the Lansings the blood of the Dutch Patroons of Lansingburg, N. Y. He counts five colonial governors among his ancestors and Betty Alden, who was the first white woman born in New England. In 1902, Mr. Grinnell married Elizabeth Curtis Williams, of Saratoga, N. Y.

His early life was spent at Audubon Park, New York City. His father bought the land which was held by the family for fifty years from Madame Audubon, the widow of the naturalist.

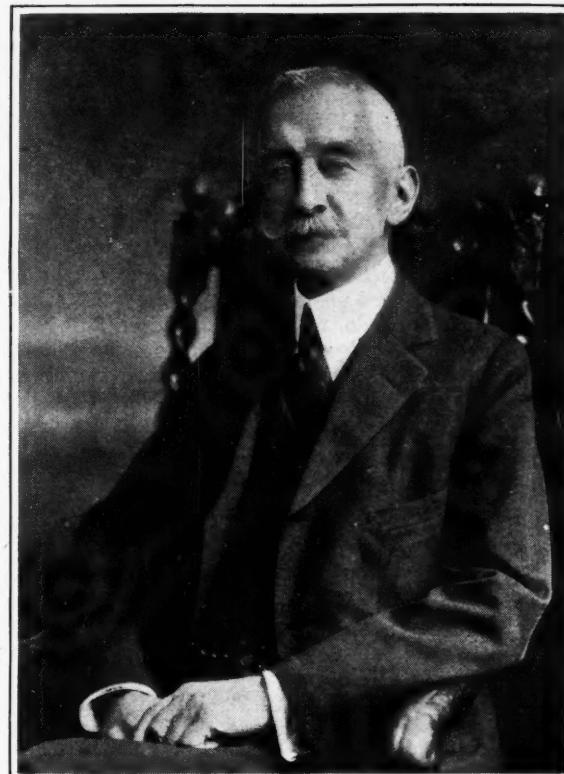
Grinnell, then six years old, went to school at Madame Audubon's—she taught the children of some of the neighboring families. Here he heard much of Audubon and his work and saw specimens of birds and mammals left by the great naturalist, and was in an atmosphere of natural history surround-

ings. This, no doubt, had much influence in developing his taste for natural history, for which he did so much in later life. As a boy he was active in collecting bird skins and other specimens, encouraged in this interest by his father.

Young Grinnell studied in the best preparatory schools and traveled extensively in Europe before going to college at Yale, of which one of his ancestors had been the president in 1740-1766. His classmates say that his manner was always unassuming and modest—characteristics which he has kept throughout his life. He graduated with an A.B. in 1870 and in later years received the degree of Ph.D. and the honorary degree of LL.D.

In 1870, when Professor Marsh made his first expedition to the then Far West to collect vertebrate fossils for the Peabody Museum in New Haven, Mr. Grinnell accompanied the expedition. As the country into which this trip was made was full of hostile Indians, the expedition required an escort of a troop of cavalry. Maj. Frank North with two Pawnee Scouts went with it. Two years later Mr. Grinnell went on the summer buffalo hunt of the Pawnees with Mr. L. H. North. It was a camp of 4,000 Indians and no one of the 800 men who made the charge on the buffalo carried a gun. All were carrying bows and arrows.

This was the beginning of his interest in the American Indians. It was not until Mr. Grinnell was forty years old that he wrote his first book on Indians—"Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales." This was followed three years later by the "Blackfoot Lodge Tales." From then on the books came more or less regularly: "The Story of the Indian," "The Indians of To-day," "The Fighting Cheyennes" and "The Cheyenne Indians," and sixteen other books on Indians of the early West. His volumes on "American Game Bird Shooting" and "American Duck Shooting" are recognized as the most complete books on the subject. The "Jack" books, which have been so widely read by young people, were written



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MR. GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL, WHO RECEIVES THE ROOSEVELT MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN THE PROMOTION OF OUTDOOR LIFE

between times for his nephews and nieces and are largely of his own experiences.

In 1874 Professor Marsh invited Mr. Grinnell to come to New Haven and work as his assistant in the Peabody Museum. He remained there until the summer of 1880, working chiefly on vertebrate fossils. He was for some years assistant in osteology in the Museum. At length he was obliged to leave New Haven on account of a breakdown in health.

In the summer of 1874 Gen. George A. Custer asked Professor Marsh to send Grinnell with him as naturalist to the then unknown Black Hills of North Dakota. The next year, Col. William Ludlow, Chief Engineer of the Division of Dakota, asked him to accompany him as naturalist on his reconnaissance to the Yellowstone Park. A report of each expedition was made to Colonel Ludlow. On the expedition he saw the wonders of Yellowstone Park and learned something of its needs and has ever

since been its ardent advocate and defender. In 1882-3 a group of men endeavored to monopolize the wonders of the Park for their own commercial advantage and for a dozen years Grinnell in various periodicals and in Washington carried on a bitter but successful fight against this and similar attempts.

During the Ludlow expedition much was seen of the slaughter of elk, deer, antelope and mountain sheep, for the hides alone, a practice which grew up as a sequel to the skin-hunting of buffalo, which had already been going on for three years. In his report to Colonel Ludlow on the mammals and birds noted on the expedition, Grinnell called public attention to this game destruction and urged action to put an end to it.

Mr. Grinnell became natural-history editor of the magazine *Forest and Stream* while at New Haven. Later, when his health broke down from the confining life at the Peabody Museum, he came to New York as editor and later owner of *Forest and Stream* until 1911. Through this medium he had full opportunity to voice his ideas about the conservation of wild life—ideas then far in advance of his time. He devoted time and thought to the work of game protection. Much of this work was necessarily educational.

About 1882 the practice began of killing small birds of bright plumage for use on women's hats and dresses. To curb this, Grinnell in 1886 founded the Audubon Society, which at once became popular and did much to lessen the destruction.

In 1893 he sent out into Yellowstone Park the first expedition that had ever visited the Park in winter. This expedition secured information which led to the capture of a poacher who was killing buffalo in the Park. Reports of the conditions there were spread all over the land through the newspapers and led to the enactment in 1894 of the first law protecting the Park game.

The declaration that the sale of game should be forbidden at all times was made by Grinnell through *Forest and Stream* in 1894. This was a novel idea and was at first received with amusement by the public, for it was not supposed that the commercial forces who were buying and selling game could be influenced by the cry, "Stop the sale of game," but Grinnell and his associates kept steadily at work and a law to this effect was passed. The Shiras Migratory Bird Bill keenly interested all conserva-

tionists, and among them Grinnell, who did everything he could to aid its passage.

Mr. Grinnell, like President Roosevelt, is an out-door man. Coming from the same cultivated early surroundings, both went into the Great West as explorers, naturalists, big game hunters, ranchmen, and, in Mr. Grinnell's case, as a student of ethnology. Mr. Grinnell was a close friend of Colonel Roosevelt for many years. At a dinner at the home of Colonel Roosevelt in 1887, the Boone and Crockett Club was founded. Of this club Mr. Grinnell is now president. Through the initiative of the members of this club much excellent work in conservation has been done, with great advantage to the country. Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Roosevelt acted as co-editors of the publications of the club: "American Big Game Hunting," "Hunting in Many Lands," "Trail and Campfire" and later, when Colonel Roosevelt became President, Mr. Grinnell edited alone: "American Big Game and Its Haunts," "Hunting at High Altitudes," "Hunting and Conservation."

In 1895 President Cleveland chose Mr. Grinnell to act as commissioner to treat with the Blackfeet and Belknap Indians. And later President Roosevelt asked Mr. Grinnell to visit the Indians at the Standing Rock Reservation, where difficulties had arisen that needed to be straightened out by someone who could be trusted.

It was in 1885 that Mr. Grinnell first visited the country now known as the Glacier National Park. He went there on a hunting trip and discovered and described the first glaciers known there. Previous to that time glaciers were unknown in the Rocky Mountains below the Canadian line. Mr. Grinnell continued his hunting trips in this region for a number of years and then decided that the country was too beautiful to be given over to commercial purposes and after years of untiring efforts he finally succeeded in having the territory established as a National Park. Since then many thousands of visitors have gone there to enjoy Nature and study wild life in its natural habitat.

Although Mr. Grinnell had a vision far ahead of his time, he has since realized in conservation some of his early hopes. As sportsman and naturalist and by his devotion to out-door life and for his untiring efforts for the good and well-being of his fellow men, he is an example to the young American.

# THE GERMAN ELECTION AND AFTER

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. The Causes

THE past four weeks have been marked by a single event of far-reaching importance: namely, the election of Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg as the second President of the German Republic. The first, the late Friedrich Ebert, was a saddler; the second—and, in the hopes of many of his supporters, the last—is the hero of the war on the German side, in appearance and in history the embodiment of the older tradition. Hindenburg is the concrete expression of the Potsdam idea, as Ebert was of the newer Weimar conception.

From whatever angle one may choose to view it, there is no mistaking the fact that the election of Hindenburg is a disaster, for the world primarily but for Germany not less. Whatever the complex causes, and they were many and complicated, there is no blinking the fact that for the world and particularly for the nations adjoining Germany—France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia—this election will be accepted as a challenge. The consequences of that challenge will be felt in all the immediate future.

Viewed in the light of its effect upon the nations which have reason to fear a return of the old order and the old ideas in Germany, this election of Hindenburg constitutes the gravest menace to reconstruction which has taken place since the occupation of the Ruhr and perhaps since the close of the World War itself. It threatens all the fabric of international adjustment which has been laboriously constructed in recent years, and it compromises the pending negotiations looking to a permanent adjustment. Nor can one fail to perceive that it compromises the prospects of the German Republic itself.

How shall one explain this German decision, which seems in direct contradiction of the conditions and state of mind

which many observers in recent months believed they had detected in Germany? Does it mean that all these circumstances were but outward disguises, one more example of the German ability to deceive? Does it mean that underneath the surface endures the same Germany of the war, of the years before the war in which the conflict was made inevitable?

The answer to these questions can hardly be had now. The very worst circumstance in what the German voters have done is that this action warrants any construction one may choose to put upon it. One may believe that it is the result of a combination of circumstances, not a final revelation of the German spirit, but that it is rather an accident, explicable as such. But the fatal fact is that it remains impossible now to give any satisfying or convincing answer to Germany's justly anxious neighbors.

For myself, still recalling my recent experiences in Germany, this unexpected vote for Hindenburg, while justifying grave apprehensions, seems to me not to warrant any final and definitively pessimistic conclusions. As a blunder it is as appalling as any of the other blunders which have made history in recent years. That it may be a final disclosure of German purpose, a real challenge, is incontestable. Yet it still seems to me explicable on simpler and less disturbing grounds.

Despite the enormous vote which he polled, Hindenburg was elected by a minority of the German electorate. His fifteen million votes, speaking approximately, stand against sixteen million cast for the Republican and Communistic candidates (fourteen millions for Marx, and two millions for Thaelmann). In the election the Republican bloc—the Weimar bloc as it is known locally, taking its name from the city where the republican constitution

was adopted—polled approximately the same vote as in the trial heat a few weeks before. The same is true of the Communists. But between three and four millions were added to the vote of the Nationalist bloc. Where did they come from?

In the first place, one must recognize that Hindenburg profited by precisely the same circumstance which would have won an enormous vote in the South for Robert E. Lee, had he stood for office after our Civil War. Hindenburg was the embodiment for his army of the Lost Cause, as was Lee. He was, moreover, a simple and soldierly figure, whose devotion, in the last fatal hours, when the kings ran away and the politicians hid, when all Germany was smitten by fear and revolution, commanded the respect of his enemies and at the same time won the enduring affection of his fellow countrymen.

Nevertheless, it would not be accurate, in my judgment, to set down the Hindenburg triumph merely to the sentimental implications. There was much more behind it. First of all, one must perceive that, unfortunately for it, the Republic has been associated in the German mind with all the

humiliations of the years which followed the termination of the great struggle.

The past seven years have been for the Germans a time of agony and of humiliation beyond anything which one can appreciate without actually visiting Germany. They have been years filled with every form of misery at home, and to the German mind with every sort of shame abroad. One must always bear in mind the fact that these sixty millions of Germans belong to a nation which hardly more than a decade ago was conceded the greatest power in Europe.

As a result of the war these people found themselves powerless abroad, their territory partitioned, large areas taken and still larger and more important areas occupied by Allied armies. Their domestic life was a matter of perpetual regulation, they were subjected to a moral blockade by most of the world, their country on the whole was treated as a pariah nation. And the climax of this condition was the occupation of the Ruhr, followed immediately by the fantastic episode which swept away the very means of existence of millions and precipitated the weirdest witches' dance in finance and economics which the modern world ever saw.

## II. The Progress of Reaction

Just a year ago the situation seemed frankly desperate, for the unmistakable march of German events was toward the complete triumph of reaction, growing out of despair. Very large numbers of Germans, who had been willing if not enthusiastic over the trial of the republican experiment, who had believed that the removal of the old order would insure good treatment from the conquerors and prompt German economic recovery, came to the conclusion that there was no hope. They believed that the Allies, that France, meant to prevent recovery, and that Germany had no choice save one of violence, itself hopeless.

But last year there were striking changes on the Allied side. In Britain Baldwin had given way to MacDonald, and in France Poincaré presently yielded to Herriot. The going of Poincaré was perhaps, from the German point of view, the most significant event since the end of the war. Poincaré had been held in Germany to be the implacable foe of all German recovery. For the first time since the close of the struggle, there came to be a slight but none the less

authentic belief in Germany that peace might after all be possible, that the France of Herriot might be willing to permit Germany to live.

Within Germany, Marx formed a new cabinet with Stresemann of the People's party as Foreign Minister. Abroad, the London Conference discussed the Dawes Plan, and for the first time a German delegation was permitted to take its place in an international conference as an equal. Moreover, the Dawes Plan having been accepted by the German delegation and later put through the Reichstag, even the Nationalists yielding, something of a new spirit of hopefulness began to appear. This hopefulness, too, was accentuated by the fact that the mark, having been stabilized, the inflation evil abolished, German domestic life began to take on an orderly character.

The fall election showed the change. This time the Weimar bloc regained many seats lost in the spring election. The results were unquestionably a gain for the Republic, although the Nationalists, by reason of various consolidations, also gained seats.

There then followed a long and obscure parliamentary crisis, growing out of the necessity to form a new cabinet as a consequence of the recent election.

This crisis was intensified by the fact that a new element was beginning to appear in the situation. The antagonism between the Republicans and the Monarchists remained; but while this simply divided the Weimar bloc from the Nationalists, the Republicans were themselves beginning to divide over economic as contrasted with political questions. Many members of the Democratic party and more of the Catholic Center, who were steadfast supporters of the Republic, looked with disapproval upon Socialist programs. In all questions of legislation they felt themselves closer to the Nationalists, who were naturally conservative, than to their obviously radical Socialist associates.

Out of all this turmoil, and engineered by Stresemann, came the Luther-Stresemann cabinet, in which for the first time the Nationalists were represented, while the Socialists disappeared. The new cabinet had members from two Republican parties (that is, the Democrats and the Center), from the People's party, which was divided on the issue of the Republic, and from the Nationalists, who were frankly anti-Republican.

But the basis of this new deal was still clearly Republican. Luther and Stresemann accepted office under the Republic with the purpose of maintaining it. Their view was that the matter of the régime, of the character of the government, was incapable of adjustment at the moment, since any restoration would inevitably bring down Allied wrath and prevent German recovery. Debate over the form of government, they believed, should be adjourned while the business of restoring German material and political fortunes should be the sole consideration.

For the present, in the conception of both men, wise German policy would be directed to obtaining the loans necessary to start German industry and to persuading the Allies to withdraw their armies of occupation. And beyond all else Luther and Stresemann sought to restore foreign confidence in the pacific character of German purposes as the first and obvious step toward attaining the ends sought.

Thus the Luther cabinet began by giving a whole-hearted endorsement to the plan of

fulfilment under the Dawes Agreement; and it followed up this by making the proposals for mutual pacts of guarantee, which were designed to abolish French apprehension and quite frankly envisaged the renunciation of all German claims to Alsace-Lorraine. Only on such a basis was it possible to procure a French evacuation of the Rhineland. These proposals had British approval, if they did not in the first instance have British inspiration.

Now, it was in this state of affairs that the death of Ebert suddenly intervened to produce a new crisis. In the meantime, German recovery had been unmistakable. The dangers of Bolshevism, which were perhaps real at the moment of the inflation crisis, had disappeared permanently. Germany had gone to work; German living conditions had become, if not normal, at least tolerable. At home and abroad German position had improved.

Within Germany, too, the feeling was growing that peace was possible, that Germany's enemies were willing to permit Germany to live. The defiance born of despair, which had existed a year before, was giving way slowly to a belief that peace and independence were possible. But this sentiment was arrested, perilously, at the beginning of the year by the failure of the Allies to evacuate the Cologne Zone, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles—a refusal based upon alleged failure of Germany to carry out the disarmament provisions of the treaty.

This refusal, however justified in fact, had a very serious result and contributed to strengthen the Nationalist argument that all the Allied policy was no more than a trick, that Germany was doomed to destruction or to a condition of vassalage.

When I was in Berlin in March, then, it was manifest that the improvement of the previous summer and autumn had been arrested, that the old element of doubt had crept in. Luther and Stresemann felt the situation acutely. They were working earnestly to persuade the Allies to evacuate the Cologne Zone, and they were pushing their guarantee pacts with feverish zeal in the hope that they might establish German good faith and procure the evacuation of the Cologne Zone and the Ruhr before the date of the presidential election, which would come in May. This, of course, was before the unexpected death of Ebert.

Had Ebert lived to fill out his term, it is

quite possible that the matter of the evacuation of the Cologne Zone might have been settled and a date for withdrawal fixed. It is equally possible that negotiations over the pacts might have reached a stage where ultimate success would have been assured, and the German Government might have profited by the results. The gain for the Republic would have been correspondingly enormous.

Fate willed, however, that at precisely this moment Ebert should die. The selection of a new President was hastened by two months, while it was obviously impossible to proceed with foreign negotiations, since in view of the election France was naturally bound to await the results of this test to obtain a basis for estimating the real situation in Germany. And the Republican party had to go to the election with the Cologne Zone still occupied and with no real triumph in the foreign field.

The Nationalists saw their chance. They had joined with the People's party in the Luther government with the purpose to dominate. They had not succeeded hitherto, for Luther and Stresemann had run a true course of loyalty to the Republic—or, perhaps, of neutrality as between Republic and Monarchy, insisting that the issue be postponed. But now in a new election the People's party, made up of the industrialists, were suddenly confronted with a choice between an alliance with the Nationalists

(who were conservative on economic questions) and the Socialists (who were radical).

It is quite clear that Luther and Stresemann hoped and worked for a Republican victory, not perhaps so much from Republican sympathies as because of a just appreciation of the fatal consequences abroad of a Nationalist victory. Moreover, in the first test, when no candidate received a majority, the combined Republican vote decisively overpassed the Nationalist, while the Communist vote showed an additional two million opponents to any monarchical restoration.

The first election, then, was a victory for the Republic; and it had very advantageous consequences abroad, where, notably in Paris, the reality of republican sentiment and the permanence of the Republic itself were accepted widely. It only needed a second triumph, the election of a republican President, to satisfy the world of the reality of the Republic; and this triumph of Marx, the Republican candidate, was expected in Paris, in London, in Berlin, in reality everywhere.

Instead, the Nationalists put up Hindenburg, and he was elected on the crest of a wave of sentiment, of emotion, and as a result of the survival of the mood of despair and defiance awakened by the occupation of the Ruhr and resentment over the failure to evacuate the Cologne Zone.

### III. What It Means

Of the foreign consequences of the German election, I shall speak in a moment, but the first question which arises is obviously: What does it mean within Germany, this sudden and unexpected decision in favor of the old military commander of the Hohenzollern régime? Does it mean the immediate end of the Republic, the approach of a new war? Above all, does it mean that the confident reports of a new Germany are so much folly, and that we are still in the presence of the Germany which faced us behind firing lines for four years and a quarter?

Patently the answers to these questions must be largely matters of opinion and conjecture. Yet it seems to me very easy to draw too wide conclusions from the election returns, and too easily and simply to dismiss the whole German race as totally different from the rest of mankind.

And it is just as easy to draw over-optimistic conclusions, to reason that the election was merely an accident or that it is to be welcomed measurably because it at least puts an end to all the dangers of Bolshevism and Socialism within Germany. Such dangers, in my humble judgment, do not exist and have not existed since the close of the inflation period.

Germany, as I saw it, seemed the battleground between two forces, that of republicanism and that of reaction. In reality it was the battleground of four forces, for there was a struggle going on between the Republicans and the Monarchs and between the conservatives and the radicals. Although the two battles frequently became identical, there was still an unmistakable distinction in many cases.

To conclude that there are no real Republicans, that there is no Democratic

sentiment, that Germany is in reality at heart Junker in its entirety or by a vast majority, seems a mistaken view. Unmistakably the vote for Hindenburg does show the monarchist strength to be greater than had been currently supposed even in Germany, although one must not lump the monarchist strength and that of Hindenburg too completely. It does show, too, what is even more serious, that the People's party, the great industrialists, when forced to choose between the radicals and the conservatives, will support the conservatives, who are also monarchists.

One must admit, also, that there is graver danger of an ultimate restoration of the monarchy than most competent observers, foreign and German, believed when I was in Berlin. The Republic is henceforth in danger—there is no blinking that fact—and it will remain in danger until some new test demonstrates a different state of affairs. Yet one must still perceive that, even in the last test, more than half of the German voters—a million more in fact—opposed the Nationalist candidate.

We shall make a mistake, and I believe a profound mistake, if on the basis of the latest election returns we conclude that all Germans are alike and that all Germans in their heart of hearts nourish the hope of a war of vengeance. There is a war party in Germany—no doubt of it. The extreme Nationalists, who have been greatly strengthened by the results of this election, are as totally unreconstructed and unchanged as the Bourbons of tradition. They have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. If they obtain complete sway we shall have ultimately to envisage a new war.

But we are still miles from this situation. The very Reichstag which must determine the course of events still has an anti-monarchical majority. Every intelligent business man in Germany knows that a restoration now would mean an end of foreign loans, a prolongation perhaps in perpetuity of the occupation of the Rhineland, an end of German standing abroad. The moderate element—of which Luther is a striking example as a matter of principle, and Stresemann at least as a matter of policy—has been temporarily defeated, but their influence and their intelligence remain.

Moreover, and this is an important detail, the Nationalists have no adequate leadership. Admiral von Tirpitz, in some ways their ablest man, is old, and abroad

totally discredited. And the extreme element in the Nationalist party, which would control, is capable of infinite folly. The effect of their victory abroad will not long be hidden from the eyes of their countrymen.

The danger of war, for the present, for a number of years certainly, is imaginary. As to the restoration of the monarchy now, it, too, while less impossible, is unlikely. Such a restoration would probably mean domestic strife; it would at the least mean strikes, the temporary paralysis of the industrial life of a nation only beginning to come back. And this would be doubly distasteful to the industrial leaders, since it would mean an end of foreign loans and of domestic operations.

On the other hand, it may well be that we shall see a partial disintegration of the Weimar bloc. The alliance between the Socialists, the Roman Catholics, and the Democrats, who represent not a little of the brains and business of the country, is obviously an unnatural association—unnatural if there develops, as seems likely, a battle between capital and labor. A new fusion (not formally, for the Socialists have refused this offer already) between the Socialists and the Communists is not impossible. This, while bringing to the Socialists perhaps a million and a half of votes, and raising their strength to some nine millions and a half, might hasten such a disintegration.

In reality, the gravest danger, as I see it, comes from without. The reaction of foreign countries and particularly of France and Poland, which are in the first line of peril from a newly warlike Germany, may be such as to lead to adoption by those countries of policies which will in the end drive Germans together in despair and establish the conviction, even now widely held, that there is no hope for recovery short of war, that to live again Germany must repeat the achievement of Prussia in 1813.

If this foreign reaction be what it may well turn out to be, it is plain the German voters will have only themselves to thank for it. It will be the result of their deliberate decision expressed in the election returns—or, more exactly, of their constitutional inability to understand the effect abroad of domestic actions. There, after all, is the tragedy of the German election. There more than anywhere else lies the danger to world peace and to German restoration. That is why the last German

election constitutes one of the most colossal blunders in recent history.

Before I close this discussion, and at the risk of repetition, I should like to emphasize once more what seems to me the crucial fact in the German situation. You have the two forces in play, the republican and the monarchist. As between these two forces the republicans are decisively superior in numbers; but they lack a tradition of control, lack unity of command, and are further separated by the fact that within their ranks are both capitalists and laborers.

On the other side you have the monarchists, who, to be sure, lack any adequate leadership; but they have the tradition of power, and on the whole they have the support of the old military leaders and the backbone of the old army, together with practically the whole corps of old civil servants. They have, too, the enormous advantage of the memories of the ancient prosperity and greatness of Germany under the monarchy.

As between these two forces, however, my judgment is that the republicans would prevail were it not for the third circumstance—namely, the existence of an industrial party, the People's party, which not only holds the balance of power but has many clear reasons for exercising its decisive influence in favor of the monarchists instead of the republicans. And if the People's party continues to support the Nationalists, in the end a restoration is not only probable but well-nigh inevitable.

The question raised for the leaders of the People's party is this: They feel themselves threatened by the unmistakable determination of the working classes to fight against the present state of wages and of life. A conflict between capital and labor has not only begun but is destined to continue indefinitely, because one condition of German economic restoration must be ability to sell abroad, and that involves cheapness of production. The Nationalists, largely agrarian, dominated alike by the nobility and by desire to obtain high tariff protection, are the natural allies of the industrialists.

Luther and Stresemann, who represent "big business," undertook to hold the balance between the Republicans and the Nationalists, but in doing this they frankly undertook also to make their alliance with the Nationalists. They hoped to use the Nationalist influence to dominate the domestic situation, while they exercised their own

decisive influence in political affairs to restrain the Nationalists in the foreign relations of Germany.

This policy, which had been effectively employed in past months, was gravely compromised by the sudden decision of the Nationalists to nominate Hindenburg, a decision which was bound to have grave consequences abroad. To judge from the returns, the industrialists in the end yielded and supported the old Marshal, really as well as nominally. The election figures would prove this. Their decision, one must conclude, was that the enemy was still Labor, and that by preserving their association with the Nationalists they could achieve their domestic purposes while—notwithstanding the temporary setback incident to the election of Hindenburg—they would be able to reassert their influence and restrain excessive Nationalist activities which might result in disturbing foreign relations.

It remains to be seen whether this calculation will work out. It is plain that the industrialists are just as anxious to avoid foreign complications, let alone a new war, as the republicans, because such complications would not only ruin their business but insure a new occupation of the Ruhr, which is the seat of their activity. Beyond a certain point the menace of excessive Nationalistic policy might become more dangerous for them than the peril coming from Labor. In that case they would be bound to change front and alignment.

To-day "big business" in Germany, which is the People's party, is trying to ride two horses. It is neither Republican nor Nationalist—that is, monarchist. Primarily, rather, it is business. But in its battle with Labor its natural ally is the Nationalist party. On the other hand its foreign needs must prove to it that for the present the Republic is the single possibility and that foreign complications would be fatal.

Thus "big business" may be driven back to the republican side under certain obvious circumstances. If it is, that ends the monarchist chance. On the other hand, it may succeed in restraining the monarchists; and in that event Germany may move slowly but surely toward some form of limited monarchy, to be established at a date still very distant. But all depends upon the success of the industrialists in restraining the passion and the chauvinism of the Nationalists.

## IV. France in Confusion

Turning now to the French aspects of the situation, I shall begin by noting quite briefly the political conditions in France as I saw them in the last days of March and the first half of April. Oddly enough, the April crisis of 1924, which marked the downfall of Poincaré, was being repeated—this time at the expense of Herriot. The Premier who had succeeded the ex-President was already in fatal difficulties, and did actually fall a few days later.

The story of the downfall of Herriot has much in it which recalls the similar catastrophe of Ramsay MacDonald. Like MacDonald, Herriot had not been unsuccessful in the foreign field in contributing to the creation of a better international atmosphere. He and MacDonald had been more in agreement than any British and French prime ministers since the war. Together they had conducted the London Conference, which led to the acceptance by the Germans of the Dawes Plan. Together they had worked at Geneva for the Protocol, which had the League approval last September. Like MacDonald, too, the keynote of Herriot's foreign policy was reconciliation, intimate relations between France and Britain, tolerable relations with Germany—all based upon the League.

But, unhappily, Herriot—like MacDonald—developed unfortunate domestic manners. Not only was his personal vanity inflated, but at the behest of the various elements which make up the rather incongruous *Cartel des Gauches*—that is, the combination of Socialists and Radicals who supply the majority in the Chamber—he had reopened the battle between the Church and the State over the matter of schools and reopened it in relation to Alsace-Lorraine, giving the people of the newly regained provinces a real grievance.

The fight over the schools was only one of many similar domestic squabbles which Herriot precipitated. Yet these incidents were not alone, or chiefly, responsible for Herriot's fall. He fell mainly because of financial issues, although his position was fatally compromised when Austen Chamberlain, at Geneva, rejected for Great Britain that Protocol which Herriot and MacDonald had jointly accepted as the basis of the European policy and of the entente between the two nations.

With the British rejection of the Protocol, most of the sober French public opinion began to take alarm. France had no direct guarantee for her security from Britain. The Protocol was a substitute which gave a collective guarantee of all League of Nations members, Britain included, to any nation wantonly assailed. But now, although France was still lacking all assurance, Germany, at British suggestion (at least so the French believed), was proposing a bi-lateral pact, which was in reality no more than a German pledge not to attack France and inferentially to accept the loss of Alsace-Lorraine as permanent.

In return for this assurance, France was by indirection asked to abandon her alliances with Poland and Czechoslovakia. She was asked to assent to the remaking of the eastern frontier of Germany at Poland's expense and to the annexation by Germany of Austria, which would leave Czechoslovakia almost completely encircled by German territory.

In this situation Herriot was plainly wobbling. That he and the Radical-Socialist crowd who supported him would like to abandon Poland was at least charged in many quarters. But unless France were to have some positive and direct guarantee from Britain—and there was no longer hope of this—French security seemed to many, perhaps to a majority of Frenchmen, to depend upon the association of French, Polish, and Czech armies in a common working agreement and, in fact, in the defense of the frontiers as established in the East as well as in the West.

The question of the evacuation of the Cologne Zone was also under discussion. The evacuation had been delayed beyond the date of January 10, the time fixed in the Treaty of Versailles, because of the unanimous report of the commission of Allied officers, charged with supervising German disarmament, that Germany had wilfully and gravely violated these provisions. Thus, from the French point of view, the situation was serious because there was danger that Herriot might consent to the evacuation of the Cologne Zone before receiving any guarantee from Britain. He might even assent to the real if not the proclaimed abandonment of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and leave France alone in

the face of a Germany at last able to menace French security.

In all this time French sentiment was gradually hardening into the determination to insist upon the occupation of the Cologne Zone until Germany had complied with the terms of the treaty as to armaments, to pay no attention to any German proposals for peace pacts until Germany had agreed to give similar guarantees for the east and the west frontiers, and to hold out for an unconditional German entrance into the League of Nations, which would necessitate the giving of new pledges by Germany to refrain from aggression and accept the *status quo*. Conceivably Herriot might have found himself forced to adopt all of this program and thus break with his more extreme supporters on the Socialist side. But the truth was that the country had lost confidence in his real ability to handle the situation, largely as a result of the British rejection of the Protocol, which had been such an important element in his foreign policy.

On the other hand, there was a surprising evidence of the underlying desire on the part of the majority of the French people to get away from the war, to find a basis of viable relations with Germany. On the testimony of every foreign visitor with whom I talked (and the testimony corresponded with my own observation), France was in an utterly peaceful mood, still resolved to safeguard her security, still suspicious of German

purposes, but frankly eager to make peace with Germany if a way could be found consistent with national security. There was nothing chauvinistic, belligerent, imperialistic about the France of April, 1925.

But, in reality, what really occupied French attention was the domestic financial situation. The treasury was empty. The Government had to have money to meet running expenses. Large unfunded obligations, floating debts, were coming due. Taxation was very high, but the payment of taxes was not in proportion to the bills due. Was the remedy to be found in some form of temporary inflation, in a levy on capital?

Underlying all else, too, was the manifest fact that the French people had lost confidence in the financial policy of their country. Capital was leaving France, the franc was falling, not greatly, as it had in the crisis of the previous spring, but nevertheless falling with disturbing regularity.

At this precise moment Herriot chose to get into a row with his Finance Minister, Clementel. He was convicted of having already gone beyond the legal limit of note issue, through loans had from the banks, and was finally accused of advocating the capital levy, which roused the whole country. The outcome of this crisis was the swift fall of Herriot, who was relegated to the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, while his party associate, M. Paul Painlevé, became Prime Minister, actually changing places with Herriot.

## V. The Painlevé Ministry

Painlevé is one of the interesting anomalies of politics. He was, and perhaps is, the greatest living mathematician, a professor of distinction who wandered into politics almost accidentally. During the early part of the war he was Minister of Inventions. He was War Minister during the unfortunate Aisne offensive of 1917, which the French army charges failed because of his interference. He became Prime Minister a few weeks later and was rather brusquely swept out of the way, after an utter failure, to make room for Clemenceau, who came just in time to save the day.

Painlevé is an honest man, with little political gift; and it was universally understood that his ministry would be brief and serve only as a makeshift, a preparation for the new Briand ministry which was ex-

pected on all sides. But it was difficult for Painlevé to get a cabinet, and in the end he was forced to choose Briand to take charge of foreign relations; while in the other crucial post, that of Finance Minister, he put Joseph Caillaux, who had been condemned and exiled from France during the war because of alleged communications with the enemy.

The choice of Caillaux aroused French wrath and produced a world-wide sensation. The explanation of the selection lay in the fact that Caillaux is beyond much debate the ablest Finance Minister in France, and the crisis was so acute as to demand heroic measures. Nevertheless, there was a general belief that Caillaux's enemies had assented to his appointment only because they believed his failure inevitable and saw in

this means the best method of getting rid of him for good and all.

The selection of Briand was really more significant, for it met the demand of the country that there should be some competent handling of the international situation. Briand was known to have little real regard for any pact with Germany, unless France were reinsured by some such direct guarantee as he and Lloyd George were formulating at Cannes in 1922 when Poincaré and Millerand upset the Briand ministry and put an end to all Briand-Lloyd George schemes.

With Briand in the Foreign Office, France believed that there would be no agreement to scrap the Treaty of Versailles, so far as eastern frontiers were concerned, no abandonment of Poland and Czechoslovakia, not even the evacuation of the Cologne Zone while the matter of German evasions remained without satisfactory settlement.

Meantime, the first turn of the German election seemed to give promise of a republican victory, and French hope of a final liquidation of the German mess was unmistakable. For the first time it seemed that the French nation was impressed with the reality of the German Republic. To be sure, the platform demands of Marx that Austria be annexed were disquieting. The French Nationalists did not for a moment concede that the German state of mind had changed, but the nation as a whole was anxious to see in the result of the election something which might warrant optimism and even encourage negotiations.

Had Hindenburg been beaten, I do not believe there is much doubt that some form of pact—with France, Britain, and Germany, with Belgium and perhaps Italy signing, reinforced perhaps by a special British assurance—would have been framed. Germany would have entered the League of Nations unconditionally, and the whole European situation would have been more favorable than at any moment since the close of the war itself.

Instead, Hindenburg was elected and the reaction in France was unanimous. The whole people saw in the German decision a challenge and a menace, the clear proof that Germany was still the Germany of 1914, that any belief in a new Germany was unfounded, and that the only safe French policy was to stand on the letter of the treaty, consolidate not weaken the bonds connecting French security with that of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Here is the real and I fear the long-enduring tragedy of the German election. It has put new vitality in every French doubt, suspicion, or belief, so far as Germany is concerned. No government now could even risk the consequences of concessions to Germany. The whole issue of evacuation of the Cologne Zone this year or next comes up in an acute form. The whole British campaign to bring France and Germany together in some form of livable agreement goes by the board.

Meantime Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, has been to Warsaw and there have been very significant speeches and hints—all, to be sure, covered by the fact of the signing of commercial and arbitration treaties. When I was in Prague in March, there was little apprehension of real German dangers, and Benes took a cool view of the German situation. But the annexation of Austria by Germany would be nearly as fatal for Czechoslovakia as the loss of the Polish Corridor for Poland. Poland certainly has taken alarm, and Czechoslovakia may; and this would mean a close association of forty millions of Slavs in the East and strengthening of the ties which bind them both to France.

Briand, on his side, has already formulated an answer to the German proposals which bases French policy squarely upon the Treaty of Versailles, negatives all German plans in the East, insists upon unconditional German entrance into the League. From Berlin, too, comes the report, apparently authentic, that the mere forecast of the Briand note has led the German Foreign Office to concede that the guarantee projects are dead.

In fact, the situation now turns on British action. But what can the British do which will change the solid fact that France is again profoundly disturbed in the matter of security? Briand's program certainly envisages new efforts to get a direct British guarantee. If he were successful in this, the negotiations with Germany might take a new turn. But there is little to suggest that Britain, influenced by Dominion objections, will go back to the proposed guarantee pact of the Cannes period.

To judge from outward appearances, then, we are in for a disturbing summer. The debate over the evacuation of the Cologne Zone, the discussion over the German disarmament issue—these are both capable of making much trouble; and, just

as there has been a French reaction incident to the German election, French policies resulting from this reaction may before long produce a corresponding German upheaval.

Ambassador Houghton's speech before the Pilgrims Society in London has been interpreted at home and abroad as a warning both to France and to Germany. But it is difficult to see how any American warning can affect nations which believe that they are in danger. Both France and

Germany do believe this; the French seeing in the Hindenburg election the threat of a war of revenge, the Germans seeing in the prolongation of the French and British occupation a French design to hold the left bank of the Rhine permanently.

My judgment, based upon recent experiences, is that Europe has lost the most favorable moment for adjustment since the war, and lost it because the German Nationalists, either through stupidity or design, managed to elect Hindenburg.

## VI. The Revolt in Morocco

And now, very briefly, I shall deal with the outbreak of hostilities in Morocco, which has directed world attention once more to this troublesome corner of Africa. The underlying explanation of the new difficulty is found in the effort to get rid of a disturbing problem by an ingenious but impossible compromise. As far back as 1904, France and Great Britain, by the famous agreement which many Germans believe was the starting point of the World War, liquidated all their colonial disputes; and the chief article in the convention was the recognition by Britain of French supremacy in Morocco and by France of similar British supremacy in Egypt.

But it was also stipulated in the convention that France was to reach an understanding with Spain. This, in turn, meant that Spain was to be permitted to expand her holdings in Morocco, dating from the period of Columbus, in such fashion as to cover all the coast facing Gibraltar from the mouth of Muluya River, just west of the Algerian frontier, to Tangier. That city was to be internationalized. Thus the British provided against the French occupation of the African coast facing the Straits of Gibraltar.

In 1905 came the Kaiser's dramatic landing at Tangier and the first of the series of crises which led to the war. At the Conference of Algeciras the independence of Morocco was reaffirmed. But this decision was of no real value, for anarchy was spreading in the Sherifian Empire. In 1907 French troops were sent to the Shawia, and in the next four years the French advance continued. Germany then intervened in 1911, when the *Panther* was sent to Agadir. Again a European war threatened, but in the end there was a settlement between

Germany and France by which France ceded to Germany considerable territory in the Congo region and Germany finally abandoned all claims to intervene in Morocco.

France and Spain then came to an agreement by which Spain acquired the Riffian coast and France the rest of Morocco, save Tangier, which was internationalized. Then the World War intervened, and at the close France held Morocco as a Protectorate. Meantime, under Marshal Lyautey's able direction, most of Morocco had been organized and in the first post-war years this work was completed. To-day Morocco is a splendid colony, with highways, railways, and a great port that has been constructed at Casablanca, which has grown to a city with more than 100,000 inhabitants, half of them Europeans.

Spain, on her side, has been less fortunate. After a protracted series of campaigns, which have had grave consequences in Spanish domestic politics, the Spanish armies have been practically driven out of the Riff region by the natives led by Abd-el Krim. Last year Spain practically gave up the struggle and withdrew her armies to a few fortified posts on the coast. This left Abd-el Krim free to turn his forces against the French. Moreover, having captured vast stocks of material from the Spanish, and having enlisted not a few European officers, he is capable of making trouble.

The geographical background of the present operation can be briefly told. From Tunis to the Atlantic coast of Morocco—that is, along the whole Mediterranean seaboard of the Barbary States—the mountains rise abruptly from the sea and the lines of communication follow interior valleys which separate the coastal ranges, the Anti-Atlas,

from the main mass of the Atlas, which in Morocco reach Alpine heights. Such an interior valley leads from the Muluya, just west of the Algerian frontier to Fez. Its actual extent is measured by the cities of Taza and Fez, and along its course run both a great military highroad and the railway connecting Fez with Oran.

This valley, the corridor or Couloir of Taza, in military geography, is nowhere more than fifty miles from the frontier of the Spanish zone, which follows the crest of the Anti-Atlas or Riffian Mountains. What the Riffs are actually undertaking is to push south on a very wide front and cut the railway and highway, thus isolating Fez from Algeria. They would then take Fez, which is one of the old capitals of Morocco—the French have now moved all governmental machinery to the city of Rabat, on the Atlantic coast—and thereafter join hands with the mountain tribes who inhabit the vast mass of high mountains south of Fez and Taza and who have never been completely conquered by the French. In reality, what Abd-el Krim is aiming at is driving the French out of Morocco altogether and setting up a new Sherifian Empire of his own.

For the French the menace is very real, because if Morocco were conquered then Algeria, which joins it on a long open frontier, would be endangered and all French establishments in North Africa would be compromised. And one must appreciate the fact that North Africa is the chief field of French colonial development and for France the real promise of future greatness. In less than a century France has established a million Europeans in this region, built great cities, and brought a prosperity which has a real importance to French prosperity itself. Algeria, for example, is regarded not as a colony but a part of France, and is represented in the French parliament as such.

Nevertheless, the campaign presents great difficulties for two reasons, one domestic, the other international. On the foreign side, once the French armies have driven the Riffs out of the French zone, they must either follow them into the Spanish zone or allow them to organize a new invasion. If they follow them into the Riff there will be protest from Spain, whose title remains; from Great Britain, which has no desire to see France seated on the other side of the

Gibraltar Strait, and from Italy, which has announced that there shall be no disturbance of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean unless she receives compensation—and her attention remains always fixed upon Tunis, where she hopes one day to replace France.

On the domestic side, the present French Government, which is made up of a combination of Radicals and Socialists, is fundamentally opposed to any colonial adventures. The state of French finance is another bar to extensive military operations. The quarrel between the Prime Minister, Paul Painlevé, and the French army commanders, which goes back to the Aisne offensive of 1917, must complicate the situation also. But one thing is clear, and that is that the mass of French public sentiment will not tolerate fumbling or any policy which might compromise French position in North Africa.

For the moment, of course, the whole question is concentrated on getting the Riffs out of the French zone. France has in North Africa some 150,000 troops. Only a relatively small portion of these can be thrown into the present operation, as they have to occupy a vast area, portions of which in Morocco have only recently been subdued. As I write, the campaign has not gone beyond the point of the concentration of French forces and the relief of the French blockhouses which are scattered along the frontier. Both sides are obviously preparing for decisive action.

The country in which the fighting is taking place is mountainous, heavily wooded, without roads or even trails, and thus very favorable for precisely the kind of fighting the Riffs excel in. The first phase of actual operations will cover the repulse of the invaders across the frontier. Then the real international problem will arise. Meantime, any disaster to the French, any incident, even minor, which suggests that Lyautey is not getting adequate support from Painlevé, may precipitate a political crisis in Paris, while it is just as certain that if the Socialists regarded Painlevé as yielding to military pressure and embarking upon a colonial adventure, they might revolt and overthrow the ministry. Also, one must steadily keep in mind the reactions in London, Madrid, and Rome, while even in Berlin there may be some consequences if France is involved in a long, expensive, and absorbing colonial war.

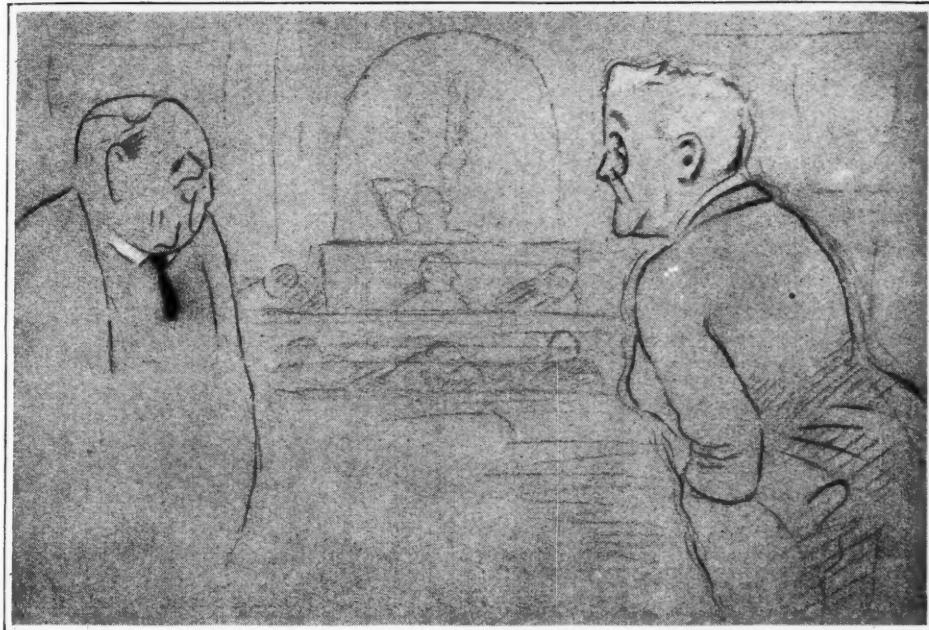
# SENATE LEADERS, AS SEEN BY A CARICATURIST

FROM DRAWINGS BY ROBERT JAMES MALONE



THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.  
BRIGADIER-GENERAL CHARLES GATES DAWES  
(In full regalia, trick pipe, trick collar, and everything)

**M**R. MALONE is a student of human nature, with a fondness for drawing; and he has chosen the floor of the United States Senate for his special field of observation. Readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS are exceptionally qualified to judge whether the artist has succeeded in creating portraits as well as in emphasizing peculiar characteristics. Mr. Malone's drawings and etchings have recently been exhibited in the Corcoran



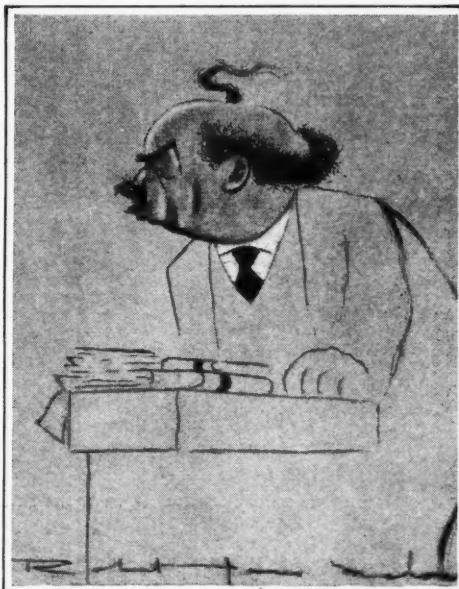
SENATOR UNDERWOOD OF ALABAMA AND SENATOR NORRIS OF NEBRASKA DISAGREE OVER DISPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PLANT AT MUSCLE SHOALS

*Gallery at Washington, and elsewhere. He is an engineer by training, having been graduated from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute; but in 1922 he abandoned the business career to indulge a talent for caricaturing.*



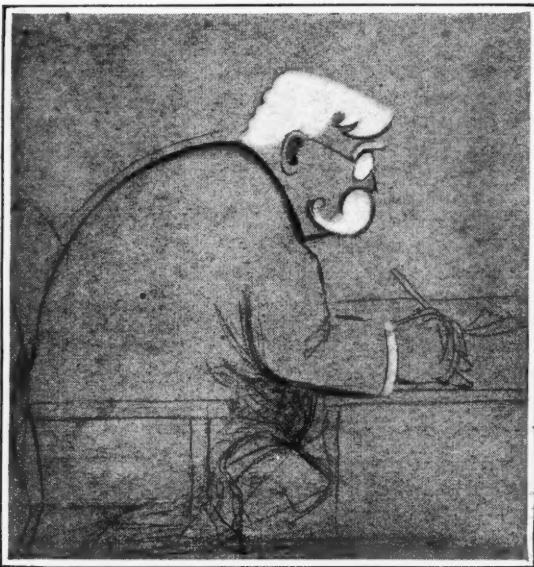
JAMES E. WATSON, THE SENIOR SENATOR FROM INDIANA

("Who has few equals as a partisan politician")

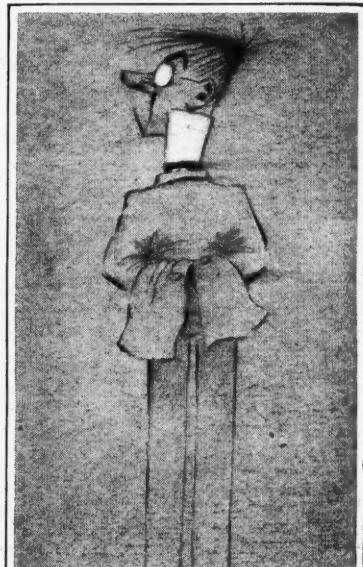


SENATOR CHARLES CURTIS OF KANSAS MAKES HIS FAVORITE ADDRESS:

"Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum."



SENATOR WARREN, OF WYOMING—WRITING,  
ALWAYS WRITING



SENATOR SMOOT, OF UTAH,  
SLIGHTLY ANNOYED



HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, AFTER  
THIRTY YEARS IN THE HOUSE, BE-  
CAME A SENATOR ON MARCH 4



SENATOR THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, OF ARKANSAS, IN  
A ROUGH-AND-TUMBLE DEBATE, INDULGES A WHIM  
FOR RENDING NEWSPAPERS SHRED BY SHRED

SEN  
REA

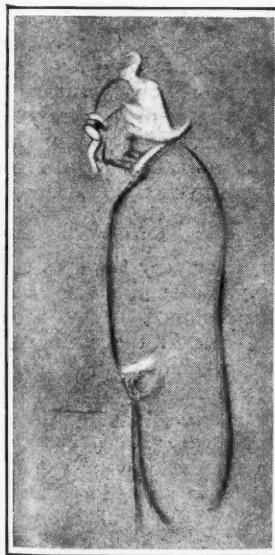
SEN  
IOW  
IN



SENATOR PAT HARRISON OF MISSISSIPPI, EVER  
READY TO POINT OUT THE MISTAKES OF  
REPUBLICANS



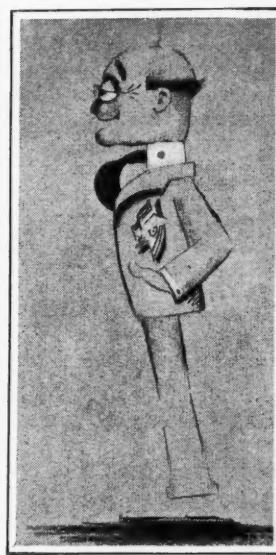
HON. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON OF ARKANSAS,  
"FLOOR LEADER" OF THE DEMOCRATS,  
GOING INTO ACTION



SENATOR CUMMINS OF  
IOWA, PRESIDENT PRO TEM  
IN THE LAST SESSION



"WHAT!"  
SENATOR WESLEY JONES, OF WASH-  
INGTON, BECOMES INTERESTED



MR. WADSWORTH OF NEW  
YORK; BORN ON A FARM,  
NOW A FASHION PLATE

# OUR SENATORS AND THEIR RULES

BY CLINTON W. GILBERT

**I**F THE United States Senate served no other useful purpose, if it were worth preserving as it is for no other reason, it is still indispensable as democracy's scapegoat. We transfer to it all our dissatisfaction with ourselves as a self-governing people and get on well, feeling that we have thus done our full duty as an intelligent electorate.

If we do not vote, we may still sit in a club or in a Pullman car and damn the Senate, showing thereby that we devote conscientious attention to public affairs. If we do not make parties work in the general interest, we may growl out our belief that if the Senate would only "shut up" and "go home" all would be well. If democracy proves in practice, like all governments, a blundering and often disappointing thing, we may pick out the institution which was intended to be the most aristocratic element in our Constitution, but which ironically has turned out to be its most democratic element, and visit it with our impatience. If self-government makes too many demands upon our interest and our time, we can at least with little expenditure of mental effort grumble out parrotwise our traditional indictment of legislative bodies and curse the Senate.

We can see the Senate. It stands out like a sore thumb. We cannot see the House; it has passed into the semi-obscurity of a mere mechanism. We cannot see the Executive, except infinitely distended and through a haze of hereditary king worship. We cannot see the courts, except in a dim religious light; robed and mysterious, the highest judges have become the high priests, the augury consulters, of our national life.

But the Senate exists out in the open. Its every move is visible. Even its secret sessions are secret to nobody. All it says and all it thinks are an open book. Listening to it is like looking into a mind, seeing a mind on its blundering, timid, faltering way toward the truth. It is democracy at its

best and at its worst, naked, and a little ashamed.

I wrote not long ago that if government in the open was to be preserved, then the Senate must be preserved as it is. And a Senator, one of the ablest men in the upper house, wrote to me that I had put into a single sentence the argument for the Senate. So I shall stand upon it.

The House has elected to be numerous and negligible. The Executive is numerous and distended beyond the capacity of a single vision. It is a vast bureaucracy, making itself apparent to the public only through irresponsible fictions known as "official spokesmen," of the White House, of the State Department, of every petty commissioner who feels that the public interest requires that he shall commit his mistakes privately; and they all do. One head bureaucrat may perpetrate a fraud involving millions of dollars' worth of government oil lands, and only an accident, careless ostentation of a tin box full of money, may reveal the fraud. The courts we have agreed to look upon with veiled eyes. Only the Senate is government in the open.

We started out with the faith that self-government would exist under the eyes of men. Government was a small thing and could be taken in at a glance. But it has become vast and remote. All that we have left that can be plainly seen of all men, that is as public as a soap-box meeting on a street-corner, is the Senate.

So if we give up the Senate as it is, convert it into a mechanism like the House, we give up the idea with which we started out; the last vestige of the "New England town meeting" on a large scale will disappear. We might even come, if the improvement were carried further, to the point where we should read in the press, "according to the official spokesman of the Senate."

The Senate is several things. It is government in the open. It is, moreover,

the eye through which we partly inform ourselves of the workings of our vast bureaucracy. We learn, more or less painfully, of the doings of Mr. Fall, Mr. Daugherty and Mr. Forbes through the Senate. And it is, as I started out by saying, democracy's scapegoat.

*The Senate as a Scapegoat*

It is important to have a scapegoat. Consider the case of Vice-President Dawes. What, I ask you, would Mr. Dawes, restless, impatient, bursting with zeal for efficiency, confined in the repressive office of the Vice-Presidency—what would he do if he were not able to raise his indignant voice against the Senate? Mr. Dawes is a fair exponent of the American people, bored with processes and interested only in results, speedy results to be accomplished without that idiotic thing, talking. Something is wrong. Something is always wrong with every government that the mind of man has devised, except on paper. If the Senate were not there to carry the burden of the blame, where could we place it? On ourselves? Imagine Mr. Dawes blaming himself. Imagine patriotic citizens like you and me blaming ourselves. Self-government might become intolerable. That way lies—hush! let us not speak it!

*The Senate, the Executive, and the Courts*

There are, as every schoolboy knows who has got through his first course in civics, three theoretically coördinate branches of the Government. We may glance at their performance in a certain matter of all too recent memory.

The Senate, somewhat accidentally, for as I have said the doings of the Executive branch are vast and not easily found out, exposed the oil transactions in which certain officials of the Executive branch were involved. Two Cabinet members retired under criticism and one, an ex-member, was indicted. The Senate performed this duty of exposure noisily, with the view-halloo of a mob, not discriminating exactly between fact and fiction. It was not edifying. Police duty never is edifying. But still the exposure of wrongs ought to give less offense than crime itself.

The courts recently quashed the indictments for bribery, drawing a nice distinction between special prosecutors and regular prosecutors of the Government and holding that special prosecutors had no business to

bring into the grand jury room with them regular prosecutors. To look at it in a large way, the business of trials at law had been made so difficult that two able lawyers, the ablest that a conscientious President could find, were unable to thread their way through it without a mistake.

Now let us see what has happened to the three branches of the Government involved. Little is said about the courts except, "Too bad." Tradition governs that. The Executive is in fair way to being recognized as a martyr to duty. And the Senate is the only guilty party!

*What the Senate Lacks—"Neatness and Dispatch"*

For make no mistake, the oil and other investigations are one count against the Senate. No one would say openly that the Senate should be reduced to a mere rubber stamp in our government because it has supported charges of official misconduct against certain Cabinet officers. But there was profound dissatisfaction with the oil and Daugherty inquiries. Their conduct was the final proof in the case against the Senate. The Senate talked too much. It did not remain "calm" when unearthing alleged bribery and corruption. It wore out the public patience by pressing its investigations too far. It took too long about them and asked too many questions. It was sensational. It permitted the search to fall into the hands of persons of whom respectable people did not approve. It was not discriminating about the evidence it produced. It used a "dragnet"—one of its regular offenses. It "embarrassed the Executive," and we have come to feel that the Executive is the Government and the legislative is at best a necessary evil.

I suppose none of us would like to see crime go unwhipped. But we would like to see it exposed with neatness and dispatch. And the one thing the Senate is incapable of is neatness and dispatch. All of the clamor against the Senate is a clamor for neatness and dispatch.

This desire for neatness and dispatch comes back partly to the fact that we have had to be, and pride ourselves upon being, a people of action. We have had no time for discussion. Talking and thinking are at a discount. And democracy was invented by a people, the Greeks, who liked talking better than anything else in the world. Democracy is a good deal of it talking. So

we prefer our democracy "tempered," as one of the old writers would say, with autocracy. We do so unconsciously, perhaps, but still we do so. And into this tempering with autocracy the Senate as constituted does not fit.

*Public Dissatisfaction*

The charges against the Senate which one hears are many and various and flatly contradictory. One of the oddest came from a great engineer whom I met crossing the Atlantic. "I defy you," he said to me, "to name six members of the Senate whom you would trust with managing a great estate." Now a large number of members of the Senate do manage great estates of their own, and I remember only one in recent years who went broke doing it. A large proportion of the Senate are wealthy business men or have inherited great estates. My engineer acquaintance had merely chosen an unfortunate way of expressing his feeling that legislators were mere talkers, not, like himself, men who "do things." And I would not bet a lead pencil that the same engineer has not sometime said that the Senate was "a mere millionaire's club"!

You hear that the Senate should "shut up and go home." And in the next breath you hear that it left a lot of laws unpassed that it should have passed. Both cannot be true. The commonest of all charges is that it is a "do-nothing" body. It lacks, when all the awkward expressions of discontent with it are analyzed, neatness and dispatch. It violates our national ideal of saying nothing and sawing wood.

This dissatisfaction with the Senate is incurable. No change in rules will make the Senate anything but a legislative body. And as a people we do not like legislative bodies. They pass laws which in almost every important case annoy a large number of us. Some members of them are sure to express views which a majority of us regard as foolish if not dangerous. They make loud noises which are supposed to startle business. They exhibit some of the fatuousness and faltering which are an element in so human a thing as democratic government. They are in the nature of the case composed of wise men and fools, of strident political exhibitionists, and quiet industrious committee workers, of orators and shouters, of brave men and cowards and hypocrites, of philosophers, and apes, of patriots and

patrioteers. They are humanity in a nutshell. And they are not a wholly edifying spectacle. But neither would the Executive department be a wholly edifying spectacle if it operated in the open as legislatures do. Not a change in rules but a change in human nature is necessary to make us look at the Senate with steady satisfaction.

*Long Speeches Not Now the Rule*

But does the Senate abuse the license that it enjoys? Does the business of the Government suffer because there is no effective way, at least none put into practice, of making Senators "shut up"?

I think, after a number of years of experience with Washington, that the answer to these questions is, No; or at any rate that the advantages of keeping the Senate "government in the open," of leaving it to indulge in unrestricted discussion, outweigh the annoyance of hearing Jim Reed now and then shouting bunk to defeat the bunk he hates so passionately; of having Mr. LaFollette parade his so-called radicalism; of listening to Pat Harrison's satire that sometimes fails to come off, or to Heflin's diatribes, or to the speeches of dull wits intended for home consumption.

A near view of the Senate would cure a lot of false notions that prevail about it. The mental picture most of us have is compounded of the tradition that men speak in it for two or three days at a stretch, that filibusters occur at least once a session, and that at least once a day some Senator tries to call some other Senator a liar—compounded of this—and of the humorous reporter's version of our near at home board of city fathers. Every legislative body as we picture it is a sort of magnified board of aldermen, and the board of aldermen has been made by the press into a kind of comic strip governmental institution.

Now the truth is that the two- or three-day speaker has gone the way of the two-bottle man and the gargantuan eater that you read about in the old books. Something has happened to us, for we can neither gorge, guzzle nor orate as our fathers did.

The change has come quickly. Senator Borah said to me the other day, "When I came to the Senate, and that was less than twenty years ago, the two- or three-day speech was common enough. I remember Senator Gallinger speaking for three days and Senator McHenry for two days, and even Joe Bailey once spoke for two days."

I have not held a stop watch on the Senators, but I should say that the average set speech now lasted less than an hour. Only when the chairman of some committee is explaining an important piece of legislation is a speech of two or three hours likely to be heard.

The Southern "brigadiers," the younger Confederate generals, upheld the fashion of heroic speaking as long as they lasted. And the windy and whiskered men from the plains, the Populists, were as full of words as Kansas was of grasshoppers. They belong to the great days of the Senate, before, as some would say, the character of the body was lowered by popular elections. In ancient days we had a vast appetite for words. Speeches ran to two or three days, novels to two or three volumes, and newspaper stories to two and three columns. But Senators, like everybody else, have felt the competition for public attention. They must be read and to be read they must be brief. Even reporters who are paid to do it won't listen to a long speech.

*Borah's Preëminence as a Speaker*

Mr. Borah, who at least as a speaker is the ideal Senator, seldom takes the floor and when he speaks never speaks for more than thirty or forty minutes. He speaks only when he has something to say that is worth saying, and what he says he says superlatively well. There is hardly a member of the upper house who would not give ten years of his life to be able to speak as Mr. Borah does.

The reason the Senate does not consist of ninety-six Borahs is that there are ninety-five men in it who cannot be Borahs. Ninety-five of them have not his discrimination, his talent for selection. They cannot pick the moment as he can. They cannot choose words as he can. They cannot separate the essential from the non-essential as he can. They cannot avoid the temptations to extravagance as he can.

His is a powerful example. He has done much to shorten speeches, to make discussion in the Senate genuine debate. Indeed I may say that with the passing of the Southern brigadiers and the wailing banshee Populists, three men have done much to modernize the Senate, to make it the excellent debating body that it is. One of these was Senator Dolliver of Iowa, the Borah of his day, a brilliant speaker who never wasted a word. Another was Senator

Bailey of Texas, who quickly learned not to make two-day speeches and to abandon Southern extravagance of manner and language, to become one of the Senate's best debaters. And the third, and perhaps most potent influence of all, is Senator Borah.

Senator Borah is without heat. He is never carried away; he lacks passion. His is a critical intelligence, and that is why, perhaps, people say of him that he stops short of performance. Senator "Jim" Reed, who it seems to me is his nearest rival as debater, is all passion. The angry blood mounts into his face. His words are biting and furious. He has a fanatical hatred of what he calls fanaticism. He is suspicious, he is prejudiced. He is an actor. He will make his point at any cost. If he cannot convince the reason, he will reach the prejudices of his audiences. I might almost say that he loves liberty as few now love this old-fashioned ideal, but it is better to say that he hates everything that abridges individual freedom, and he suspects all change, especially every reform, of being an abridgment of liberty. But withal he has a powerful mind, if he were content to use only his mind. With all his extravagance of manner there is as much sincerity and more power, but less effectiveness, than there is in Mr. Borah:

*LaFollette, Walsh, Caraway, Harrison*

I cannot pass the whole Senate in review. But I shall take one of the conspicuous offenders from the point of view of those who regard the Senate as a pernicious talk factory, Senator LaFollette. He has been a notorious long talker, he has participated in more than one filibuster, and he has shocked the sensibilities of those who would like the Senate to be discreet and approving of everything that is. Mr. LaFollette's fault is that he cannot edit himself. He accumulates facts and examples like a German philologist. He cannot spare a detail once he possesses it. He loses himself in his wealth of material. But he is a tireless student. He is an authority on the questions that interest him. He brings more information into the Senate than any other man who addresses it.

And there is Walsh of Montana, an effective Senator and a power in debate, especially since the oil investigation gave him confidence. The trouble with Walsh is that he has the delusion of injustice. His party overlooked him when choosing a

candidate for the presidency. Still the Montana Senator is a man of strong moral purpose and excellent mind. I should not care to have him shut up.

And the two gay guerrillas, who have succeeded the Southern brigadiers, as Morgan with his swift moving men was left after the Confederate regulars were caught—one of them Caraway, the greatest wit in the Senate, who, however, cares more for one neat shot of ridicule than for a solid argument, and the other Pat Harrison, the playboy from Mississippi, who loves to raise a laugh at the expense of the Republicans. They give color to the Senate and keep the solemn platitudinarians on their guard. I dare say they save time. Much folly that might be spoken remains unspoken for fear of them.

#### *Smoot and Cummins, Committee Workers*

These men as a whole represent the Senate in action. But the background of the Senate is composed of less showy committee workers, like Smoot and Cummins, masters of the details of legislation, men who have spent laborious years in Washington, while Presidents and Cabinet members have come and gone like birds of passage—men who know more about government than any executive department head ever has time to learn.

I pass over the dullards who clutter up the place. They are inevitable, rules or no rules. They obtrude themselves little upon the attention and only serve to remind you how human democracy is. Now and then one of them becomes a Cabinet member and instantly commands great respect.

#### *The Use of the Filibuster*

Now, I doubt if any of the men I have mentioned, conservative Republicans, progressives, and Democrats, Smoot, Cummins, Borah, LaFollette, Reed, Caraway and Harrison, would ever vote to put a limit on debate in the Senate. All of them have suffered from the talk that is death to neatness and dispatch, but they have a wholesome fear of machining away the free dis-

cussion that is the life of deliberate law-making. And I think they are just as patriotic as Vice-President Dawes and they have had larger experience in public affairs than he has had.

They know that the inconclusiveness of the debate on Muscle Shoals, which is one count against the Senate as a talking and do-nothing body, sprang from the fact that no branch of the government, executive or legislative, knew what to do with Muscle Shoals. The alternatives are government ownership and operation or a contribution to the greatest power monopoly the world has ever seen. Only a handful of men in either branch of the Government are willing to face either horn of the dilemma. So a decision was put off.

They know, too, that filibusters are rare, and if these are sometimes a nuisance, the threat of a filibuster is a powerful obstacle to the jamming through at the end of the session of sneak legislation.

Usually it is not necessary to resort to the remedy itself. The threat of a filibuster is implicit in the situation. Call up a sneak bill at the end of a session and some Senator is good for several hours conversation. So sneak bills are not called up. The choice is between sneak bills jammed through or the chance of an occasional filibuster.

If the Senate had all the neatness and dispatch that the House has, you would have a nice "contempering" with autocracy. Six or seven men in Washington would have everything in their hands. Some Senators say that big interests not wholly unselfish would like to deal only with six or seven men and that this explains the drive on the Senate's rules. But I think the explanation is too personal. Most of the demand for neatness and dispatch comes from our impatience with democracy and our traditional aversion to legislative bodies. Whether the Senate is to remain government in the open or not is in the control of the Senate. And because I know the Senate to be with all its faults devoted to the public interest as it sees it, I am sure there will be no cloture rule.



# “CLOTURE” IN THE SENATE

BY OLIVER PECK NEWMAN

SINCE Vice-President Dawes launched his campaign to abolish unlimited debate in the United States Senate it has frequently been stated that there is now no means by which Senate debate can be brought to a close and a vote taken. It has also been freely asserted that the United States Senate is the only legislative body in the world where such a condition exists. Both of these statements are erroneous.

The Senate now has a “cloture” provision. It is Rule XXII and was adopted in March, 1917, just after President Wilson made his famous declaration that “a little group of wilful men” had rendered the Government of the United States “helpless and contemptible” by conducting a filibuster against the bill authorizing the President to arm merchant vessels as a protection against submarines. The rule provides that, upon motion signed by sixteen Senators, a vote shall be taken, without debate, on the question, “Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?” If the motion prevails by a two-thirds vote the measure under debate shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other matters until disposed of, and no Senator may speak upon it more than one hour.

Since 1917 the rule has been invoked half a dozen times but adopted only once. The last time it was invoked was in the Congress recently adjourned, when Senator Curtis, the Republican leader, got two-score signatures to a motion to close debate on the Isle of Pines treaty, which was being used to prevent action on other important bills. Cloture was not applied, because the mere signing of the motion brought unanimous agreement setting a time to vote.

Cloture was adopted in 1919, at the instance of Senator Hitchcock, to end debate on the Versailles Treaty. Twice in 1917 the filing of a motion, signed by the requisite number of Senators, produced the desired result (closing debate and voting) without action on the cloture mo-

tion itself. Upon two occasions the rule was invoked and cloture was defeated through failure of the majority party to muster a two-thirds vote. One of these was in 1921, when Senator Penrose sought to end debate on the Emergency Tariff bill, and the other was in 1922, when Senator McCumber endeavored to force a vote on the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill.

### *Cloture in France and England*

While it is true that all foreign parliaments have rules for closing debate, it is also a fact that there are no such rules in the upper bodies of the legislatures of eight American States: Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Utah.

In the French parliament, if one or more members (at any time) cry “*La cloture*,” the presiding officer must immediately put the question: Shall debate close and the vote be taken? One member may speak *against* cloture but none for it. If the motion prevails by a majority vote the debate is automatically closed and the main question put to the house.

Cloture was adopted in the House of Commons in England in 1882, following protracted filibusters by Parnell and his Irish Nationalists, and was strengthened in 1887. There any member may “move the previous question,” which is not debatable. If it carries (by majority vote) the main question is put without further debate. All other foreign parliaments have similar rules, which make it certain that the majority party will win or lose on a clear-cut issue, determined by roll call.

Such provisions make impossible the American condition described by President Wilson in these words: “The Senate of the United States . . . cannot act when its majority is ready for action.”

Debate in the Senate now, except under Rule XXII, is limited only by the physical endurance of the debators. In the past this fact has been the cause of numerous filibusters, in which the privilege of unlimited

debate was abused. To these may be traced the movements for limitation of debate, in which such distinguished and powerful leaders as Clay, Calhoun, Douglas, Quay, Allison and Lodge struggled heroically for the reform and finally gave up, unable to overcome the weight of tradition and the love of the Senate for its privileges.

*The Force of Tradition in the Senate*

"The Old Guard dies but never surrenders," was the proud boast of Napoleon's picked corps, but the Senate, equally proud, goes the Old Guard one better. It not only never surrenders; it never dies. It is vastly different from the House of Representatives in this respect. The House dies every two years. Every 4th of March in odd numbered years a brand new House is born. The Senate was born on April 6, 1789, and has lived ever since, by virtue of the fact that only one-third of its membership is elected each two years. It has, therefore, been a "continuing" body ever since it first met and it will presumably go on forever. This helps to make it chesty about its history, traditions, and privileges.

Of all the sacred things which it holds dear, the most sacred and dearest is "unlimited debate." That is why Senators Clay, Calhoun, Quay, Allison, and the rest of them, had to give up fighting for cloture. They simply couldn't buck that old Senate tradition. And that is why a lot of old-time Senators are laughing in their sleeves now at what they consider a feeble attempt on the part of a new, inexperienced official—strange to the ways and psychology of the Senate—to defy the Senatorial lightning and to tilt at the Senatorial windmills. They anticipate that he will have no greater success than the late Ajax and Quixote.

*The First Senate Curbed "Tedious" Debate*

Defenders of unlimited debate to-day, in citing the intention of the "fathers" of the country to make the Senate a check on the popular House of Representatives, frequently ignore the fact that the first Senate rules contained a provision for the previous question. They also usually overlook the fact that the previous question had a place in the rules of the Continental Congress, was set up along with other methods of procedure copied from England, where it had originated in 1604.

The Senate of the first Congress, which

was organized on April 6, 1789, adopted a set of sixteen rules as almost its initial act. Rule No. VII was as follows:

In case of a debate becoming tedious, four Senators may call for the question; or the same number may at any time move for the previous question, viz., "Shall the main question now be put?"

This required only a majority vote for adoption but was itself debatable without limit. It appears, however, to have served the purpose intended because it was invoked but four times in the seventeen years between 1789 and 1806, when the new, present rules were adopted, and was carried only three times. And there is no record of any obstructive debate which occurred within that period.

When the present rules were adopted in 1806, based on the Jefferson "Manual," Jefferson was President and took an important part in formulating the methods of Senate procedure. It was due to his influence that the "previous question" was omitted.

The proper occasion for the previous question [he said] is when a subject is brought forward of a delicate nature as to high personages, etc., or the discussion of which may call forth observations which might be of injurious consequences. The use of it has been extended abusively in other cases; but in these it has been an embarrassing procedure; its uses would be as well answered by other, more simple, parliamentary forms, and therefore it should not be favored but restricted within as narrow limits as possible.

The fact that in 1806 there were but thirty-four members of the Senate was also a consideration in the decision to put no curb whatever on debate.

*Early Attempts to Limit Debate*

From 1806 to 1917, when a modified form of cloture was adopted, there were eighty-seven separate attempts to limit debate. A few of minor import were adopted. The first was at the beginning of the Civil War, when it was agreed that during debate in secret sessions on subjects relating to the rebellion each speaker should be limited to five minutes. Half a dozen times debate on amendments to appropriation bills has been limited "for the remainder of the session" by unanimous agreement. Every effort for limitation of general debate by a standing rule has, except for Rule XXII, been fruitless.

The first notable filibusters were in 1841, when delay by obstructive tactics first made

its appearance in "the greatest deliberative body in the world." One was on a resolution to oust the Senate printers and the other on a banking bill. Clay offered a rule that he said "would give to the majority the control of the business of the Senate." It was finally abandoned.

The next filibuster was in 1846, when the Oregon bill was debated for two months and caused Stephen A. Douglas to introduce a resolution for "closing debate on any pending measure by majority vote." It was also abandoned. In 1856, in the pre-war struggle over slavery, Douglas again advocated cloture and again abandoned it.

In 1863 a bill to suspend the writ of habeas corpus was defeated by filibustering, and in 1876 a filibuster of twelve days against the Army appropriation bill forced the abandonment of a rider to suspend the election laws. When the Senate met in 1881 it was evenly divided between the two parties and a filibuster tied it up from March 24 to May 16, when the Platt and Conkling resignations gave the Democrats a majority.

#### *The "Force" Bill a Notable Instance*

The most spectacular filibuster in the history of the Senate was on the "Force" bill in 1890-'91, introduced in the House by Henry Cabot Lodge, providing for federal supervision of Southern elections. It passed the House and was defeated in the Senate only after a twenty-nine-day filibuster. The Reed rules had but recently been adopted in the House and the Force bill was driven through under them. There was sentiment, also, for adoption of similar rules in the Senate, and the failure of the Force bill was used to show their necessity. Shortly thereafter Mr. Lodge was elected to the Senate. Being young and impetuous (like Dawes, as the Senators now say) he straightway started a movement for Senate cloture, which he finally abandoned and which, in the later years of his life, he vigorously opposed. Opponents of cloture to-day cite the Force bill defeat as the best argument for unlimited debate.

Another demand for curtailment of debate followed the filibuster on the repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the Act of 1890. The Senate was held in continuous day-and-night session for thirteen days, but the measure was finally passed. On the last day of the short session in 1901 the River and Harbor bill was defeated by a

filibuster, conducted by members seeking to tack on additional appropriations.

Among the noted filibusters was the forty-day contest against joint statehood for Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico. This is also cited by opponents of cloture as an example of the benefits of unlimited debate. They contend that it was subsequently accepted that New Mexico and Arizona were not then ready to join the Union. In 1911 another statehood filibuster was conducted, as a result of which the Senate was compelled to admit Arizona in order to pass the bill admitting New Mexico. At that time Senator Curtis, the present chairman of the Rules Committee, offered a resolution providing for cloture on a two-thirds vote, but soon abandoned it.

#### *Mr. Underwood's Fight to Limit Debate*

In 1918 Senator Underwood, then the majority leader, offered a rule that for the period of the war no Senator be permitted to speak more than one hour on any bill or more than twenty minutes on any amendment. After being debated a week the Underwood proposal was defeated by a vote of 41 to 34. While the filibuster of 1923 was being conducted against President Harding's Ship Subsidy bill, the Senate Rules Committee considered a resolution invoking cloture by a majority or by a three-fifths vote, but rejected both proposals.

The Senate now has before it, as a result of Vice-President Dawes' speech, a new proposed rule, introduced by Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama the day after the presiding officer's address was delivered. It substitutes the previous question for the present cloture rule. Any member may "move the previous question" at any time during consideration of a measure. Only a majority vote is required for the previous question to prevail, after which each speaker will be limited to one hour.

#### *Arguments For and Against*

The principal argument for limitation of debate is that the United States is committed to the principle of "majority rule." It is contended that unlimited debate may, and frequently does, produce rule by a minority—sometimes a minority of one. President Wilson, Vice-President Dawes, and all the other distinguished statesmen who have advocated cloture hold that, under the American form of party government, the responsible party in control has

the right to use its majority to secure a decision on its legislative proposals. It is also pointed out that grave harm to the public interest may be done and often has been done by defeat of meritorious bills through filibustering conducted under the principle of freedom of debate. It is further contended that Rule XXII has been proved inadequate and that it is un-American because it requires a two-thirds, instead of a majority, vote.

The chief argument now for unlimited debate in the Senate is the so-called gag-rule of the House of Representatives, which was considered necessary because of the size of the membership but which has robbed the House of practically all character as a "deliberative body." It has been contended almost continuously for more than a hundred years that the Senate should have unlimited debate because it was intended, by the Constitution, to be a check on the more volatile lower chamber, which comes directly from the people every two years, and which has always shown an inclination to hasty, rash, and undigested legislation, which must be considered by the Senate with calm deliberation. Up-holders of freedom of debate in the Senate argue that the "pause in the Senate" is a rational, wise precaution and that, despite filibusters, few meritorious measures for which there is real public demand have ever been killed because unlimited debate is permitted.

Some Senators go so far as to say that no such measure has ever been defeated. Another argument is that freedom of debate is necessary as a safeguard against encroachments by autocratic executives upon the legislative functions of the Government.

#### *Present Complications*

Recently the suggestion has been made that great business interests have been irritated by the attitude of Western radicals during the last three or four years. It is argued that Eastern business would be glad to see a curb put on the freedom of speech that has characterized Senate sessions, and upon the obstructive tactics of "blocs," whose activities are facilitated by the present rules allowing unlimited debate.

The minority party, whether Republican or Democratic, has invariably opposed limitation of debate in the Senate. In

spite of Senator Underwood's leadership for more effective cloture, it is reasonably certain that the minority will run true to form in this contest. Already a number of Democratic Senators have expressed themselves as hostile to Vice-President Dawes' suggestion.

In the present situation there is another political consideration—unusual but compelling. Some observers think it explains completely the raising of the issue at this time. It is the extraordinary condition resulting from Senator LaFollette's candidacy for President. He and three other Republican Senators have been read out of the party by the Republican organization in the Senate. They have been denied committee places as Republicans, and in the next session they will find themselves more and more isolated from their nominal party.

They need not be expected to submit quietly to cloture, because unlimited debate is the breath of life to them. Without it they are made almost impotent in their senatorial activities. They may therefore be expected to join the anti-cloture Democrats and to fight curtailment of their privileges to the last ditch. But the same reason that makes them fight *against* cloture may be expected to stimulate some of the "old guard" to an equally vigorous fight *for* cloture. The result should be interesting and spectacular, affording the new Vice-President an opportunity to display real leadership.

#### *Mr. Norris Proposes a Remedy*

An entirely different remedy for filibustering is suggested by Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, who has offered a Constitutional amendment providing for the meeting of each new Congress in January, immediately following election. Most filibusters come at the end of the short session, the "lame duck" sittings starting the first Monday in December after the biennial elections, and continuing to March 4th following. Under the Norris plan there would be no short session. Congress would meet in January and continue until its business was finished. Senator Norris contends that with no short session there would be no necessity for cloture. His amendment has passed the Senate and, he says, has been given "silent filibuster" treatment in the House.

# DO AMERICANS WANT THE WORLD COURT?

BY MARGUERITE LOGAN BENTLEY

ELIHU ROOT has asked, "Can it be that the people of the United States do not care whether or not anything is done to outlaw war?" The query is squarely raised—it cannot be so squarely answered. To such a question the man in the street would reply, "Of course I care." His answer would be perfectly honest, he would care. But, having dismissed the subject from his mind, he would not care further. Though this state of mind is not satisfying, it is encouraging. A hundred years ago, such a question asked the ordinary citizen would have provoked no reply; it would have presupposed an answer beyond the realm of common sense and human possibility. To-day the interrogation is pertinent, the answer is obvious, but the means as yet have not become a burning personal issue. So the reply to Mr. Root's question is that "They do and they don't, but—"

During the past winter the American Peace Award, created by Edward W. Bok, asked me if I would do some work in behalf of the movement for a World Court. The committee in charge felt that the next most practicable step which could be taken toward peace was the participation of the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice, on the Harding-Hughes terms, and that the majority of voters, without regard to party, were overwhelmingly in favor of such a move.

In order to arrive at this conclusion it was necessary not only to use powers of observation, but also methods of research. Opinions are of interest and value, but facts form a firmer working basis. The facts in this instance paved the way for a World Court campaign. First, both the Republican and Democratic parties had endorsed the World Court, and it had been one of the specified planks in the platform of the winning party. Also, leading statesmen of both parties—such as President Harding, Secretary of State Hughes, President Coolidge, and John W. Davis—had definitely

advocated adherence on the Harding-Hughes terms. In other words, it was a non-partisan issue backed by the two major parties and their followers—a majority of voters, surely!

The political barometer may not be infallible, but when both parties endorse, and both candidates advocate, a project there is usually little more to be said.

Added to the political support of the World Court was the endorsement of many great national organizations. The United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Bar Association, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Federation of Labor, the National League of Women Voters, etc., etc., are included on this list. Organizations—educational, social industrial, political, religious, commercial, and otherwise—passed resolutions, and signified their belief that the United States should become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This backing represented in a general sense the sentiment of several million people—individuals definitely enrolled to further some type of progress.

#### *The Harding-Hughes Conditions*

In spite of this evidence of widespread endorsement, the World Court had suffered deferred action for almost two years in the United States Senate. President Harding, the latter part of February two years ago, recommended the World Court—with certain reservations drawn up by Secretary of State Hughes—to the Senate for favorable action. These conditions became known as the Harding-Hughes terms, and provide: (1) That our adherence to the Court should not involve any legal relation to the League of Nations; (2) that we should pay our share of the expenses; (3) that we should participate in the election of judges; (4) and that the statute of the Court should not be amended without our consent.

Mr. Harding died the following summer, and President Coolidge in his message to the Sixty-eighth Congress, when it met in December, 1923, said: "As I wish to see a court established, and as the proposal presents the only practical plan on which many nations have agreed, though it may not meet every desire, I therefore commend it to the favorable consideration of the Senate with the proposed reservations clearly indicating our refusal to adhere to the League of Nations." Later in the same month three World Court resolutions were introduced, and were referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Though Senator Lodge, who was then chairman, and other members of the committee were urged to give the resolutions consideration, no action was taken.

Finally, on May 5, 1924, Senator Swanson of Virginia presented another resolution incorporating the Harding-Hughes conditions. On May 22 Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania introduced a resolution which purported to accept these terms, but which actually made such drastic changes in the method of nominating and electing the judges that a salient difference diminished any attempt at similarity between it and the Harding-Hughes terms. This new electoral method proposed that a special commission be formed of national representatives who would assemble from all over the world solely for this reason. It is obvious that the forty-eight nations now in the World Court will not be willing to assume the costs and inconvenience of this plan when they have a thoroughly representative body already in existence which involves no such expense or effort. In addition, the Pepper resolution deprives Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, and Australia of their votes, a plan that would hardly be expected to meet the approval of those countries.

#### *Advocated by President Coolidge*

The Foreign Relations Committee rejected the Swanson resolution by a vote of 10 to 8, and on May 26 reported the Pepper resolution favorably—by a very close vote. It was then put on the calendar of the Senate for action at the next session of the Sixty-eighth Congress which would reconvene in December, 1924.

President Coolidge, in a speech at Arlington Cemetery on May 30, 1924, referred to President Harding's stand in

regard to the World Court, and his presentation of it to the Senate:

His suggestion has already had my approval. On that I stand. I would not oppose other reservations, but any material changes which would not probably receive the consent of many other nations would be impracticable. We cannot take a step in advance of this kind without assuming certain obligations. Here, again, if we receive something we must surrender something. We may as well face the question candidly, and if we are willing to assume these new duties in exchange for the benefits which would accrue to us, let us say so. If we are not willing let us say that. We can accomplish nothing by taking an ambiguous position. We are not going to be able to avoid meeting the world, and bearing our part of the burdens of the world. We must meet these burdens and overcome them, or they will meet us and overcome us. For my part, I desire my country to meet them without evasion and without fear, in an upright, downright, square, American way. Whatever differences, whatever perils exist for us in the world, will come anyway, whether we oppose or support the Court. I am one of those who believe we would be safer and that we would be meeting our duties better by supporting it, and making every possible use of it.

#### *The American Peace Award Sounds Public Opinion*

This was the situation when the American Peace Award started to work last fall. In order to maintain a non-partisan stand, a committee was selected on which there were eminent Republicans and Democrats. The aim was the next most practicable step toward peace. This step was decided to be the participation of the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice on the Harding-Hughes terms. On one side was the endorsement of President Harding, President Coolidge, Secretary Hughes, John W. Davis, and others, the Republican and Democratic parties, a majority of the voters, many of the great national organizations of the country; and on the other—deferred Senatorial action. The equation did not balance!

But the first answer to Mr. Root's question is ready. The largest possible cross-section of public opinion is on record as a reply to his query, "Can it be that the people of the United States do not care whether or not anything is done to outlaw war?" Far-seeing statesmen who realize that the issue is pertinent to civilization, makers of party platforms who must catch even the low subconscious voice of the people, voters who think and those who do not, great organizations national in character and representing large numbers of people who are willing and waiting to con-

tribute their "bit" to progress—in other words, the first impulse of the American public as a whole is to *care*, though the shades vary and the degrees differ.

The American Peace Award issued the following statement:

We believe the people of the country overwhelmingly desire to have a resolution providing for the adherence of the United States to the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms reported in order that it may be voted upon by the full Senate.

Our object therefore is to focus popular sentiment on this point so that the Foreign Relations Committee shall recognize a genuine expression of the will of the people.

In our judgment, a World Court meeting held in every possible community in the near future for the free discussion and expression of opinion on the question of getting this form of the Court before the full Senate for a vote, is the best available universal method for achieving an expression of the attitude of the American people.

#### *Focusing Sentiment Through Mass Meetings*

From the first of December until the end of February, World Court mass meetings took place all over the United States in small communities, where a letter and some literature were the only necessary stimulus; in large cities, where definite organization of a committee was enough to insure the carrying out of an enthusiastic and successful meeting. Outstanding members of the community, leaders at home and elsewhere, served on these committees. All possible organizations were invited to coöperate in the mass meetings; every type of group joined hands in the movement—women's organizations, business men's associations, Catholic, Jewish, colored groups, labor organizations, colleges, patriotic and military bodies, and so forth. My personal experience was 99 per cent. coöperation from these groups. Seldom did an organization feel that the World Court was outside its scope of interest! The subject was discussed within the group, and a member was appointed to represent the organization at the mass meeting, and on its behalf endorse a resolution asking for Senatorial action on the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms.

Hundreds of mass meetings were held over the country; from coast to coast and border to border, in village and city interest was stimulated, and an expression of opinion obtained. The World Court was discussed from every angle at these meetings. People learned that the Permanent Court of International Justice was a direct outgrowth of

ideas formulated at the Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907, and sponsored at those times by President McKinley, and President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Root; that at Elihu Root's suggestion in 1920 the present method of electing the judges was adopted; that the Court, long an American ideal, was now functioning with forty-eight member nations; that the "jurisdiction of the Court comprised all cases which the parties refer to it, and all matters specifically provided for in treaties and conventions in force"; that in three years of existence it has handed down three decisions, and in nine other cases it has been asked to render advisory opinions; that in no sense was it a League of Nations Court, and that the Harding-Hughes terms protected our interests adequately; that the World Court was a definite step toward substituting Law for War!

#### *Resulting Resolutions*

Speakers, local and national, Republican and Democratic, addressed these meetings. Questions and discussion followed, and ultimately a resolution was passed endorsed by every type of organization in the communities, and by the hundreds—sometimes thousands—of individuals who attended the meetings. These resolutions were then sent to the local and nearby newspapers (and published!), to the two United States Senators and often the Congressmen of the State, to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and now and then to President Coolidge. The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate was urged "by whatever procedure was found to be best, to get before the full Senate for a vote a resolution providing for the participation of the United States in the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms."

In many places where World Court mass meetings were not being held, organizations took up the subject, discussed it among their members, and forwarded similar resolutions to Washington asking for action on the World Court. A letter or a telegram from the American Peace Award office was enough to inspire this effort; the *desire* was close to the surface.

By March 4 the American Peace Award had succeeded in stimulating and receiving expressions of opinion on the adherence of the United States to the World Court from every State in the Union! From all States came varying degrees of the same sentiment,

political differences were merged in a common point of view on this subject—in other words, the World Court was not a partisan issue. Even the legislative bodies in some of the States coöperated in the movement. The Delaware Legislature passed a resolution in January, endorsing the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms, and urging early action in the United States Senate. Ohio and Vermont voiced the same sentiments in their legislative bodies the early part of February. Both branches of the Colorado Legislature, on March 2 and 3, adopted a resolution endorsing United States participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

State resolutions such as these usually stressed President Coolidge's stand on the World Court, and asked for favorable Senatorial action at an early date. These resolutions, of course, had no legislative effect; they were simply indicative of widespread support. Mayors also took official action, municipal bodies endorsed numbers of resolutions, while in city after city the mayor would head the World Court Committee and be instrumental in organizing a large and representative mass-meeting in order to obtain an actual cross-section of opinion from the citizens of his city.

Besides these resolutions, letters and telegrams from individuals and groups of individuals poured in upon the United States Senators and the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, asking that the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms be brought before the full Senate for a vote. Honored names were signed to innumerable appeals. Bishops, prominent bankers, Governors, judges, chairmen of large women's organizations, eminent lawyers, heads of corporations, labor leaders, Chamber of Commerce presidents, generals, and others sent these messages. Republican and Democrat, Protestant, Catholic and Jew united in an effort to substitute law for war as a means of settling international disputes!

#### *Do the People Really Care?*

In this way an expression of opinion was stimulated, and a more intensive cross-section of the public attitude gained. The general inference from such widespread coöperation is obvious. The people of the United States *do care* whether or not anything is done to outlaw war—but the shades

of feeling range from an acute consciousness to a nebulous, unborn groping! Many people showed a splendid interest and enthusiasm, others a frank apathy, but it was possible to interest practically everyone. There was no antagonism.

It is true that the man in the street still walks by enveloped in smugness and an over-complacent sense of security, looking upon war as a distant issue, a miasma floating far above the earth. But stop him, ask him whether or not he cares if anything is done to outlaw war, and he will look at you in astonishment and reply, "Of course, I care." Then he will amble contentedly on, and wonder why in blue blazes he was able to get Toronto last night, but couldn't tune in on New York! It is not a burning issue to him, it is not even a personal issue, it is a simple question to which he gives an obvious answer. But do not be misled by his apathy. His mind is a reflective instrument. What the individual "thinkers" and the great groups of the country have analyzed and endorsed as to objective and means, he tersely gives you in his reply, "Of course, I care." Talk to him, interest him, show him that the subject is not over his head, and suddenly his ideas begin to crystallize, personal observation hitherto unrecorded presents acute reasons, he is a firm proponent. In other words, the monumental task of the moment is to stimulate thought; the average brain is practically asleep so far as public thinking is concerned—but it is stirring in its sleep!

#### *Expressions of War Veterans*

The endorsement of the World Court by men who served in the World War cannot be regarded lightly. Here are some instances:

The commander of a branch of the American Legion wrote:

At the unanimous request of the Executive Committee of the American Legion of . . . embracing some 46 posts of the American Legion, the following wire was sent to Senator Borah: "The American Legion of . . . composed of men who have experienced the horrors of war and are still ready to defend the nation in time of danger, believe that our nation should make all reasonable efforts possible to provide for the settlement of disputes by peaceable means, and to that end urge you and the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate to report to the Senate for its consideration and action a bill providing for our entrance into the Court of International Justice."

The following is an excerpt from a letter written to all members of the Senate

Foreign Relations Committee by a prominent general:

During the five years since my return from France I have met and discussed with many Army and Reserve Corps officers, veterans of the World War, and others, the question of our adherence to the World Court of International Justice. The sentiment among these men strongly favors our membership in the World Court as the least we can do in coöperation with the other nations of the world to substitute organized justice for force in the settlement of international differences.

**Another World War veteran wired:**

Am pleased to note that Committee will discuss World Court Wednesday. Trust that report recommending participation of United States on Harding-Hughes terms will be presented to full Senate vote. Believe such scheme only practicable means by which our country can fulfill its obligation to humanity.

This telegram was sent to the Foreign Relations Committee when the World Court was scheduled for discussion in January, but that discussion was deferred.

Resolutions were endorsed by such groups as Veterans of Foreign Wars, Military Order of World War, the American Legion and G. A. R. Posts.

*What Do the Women Say?*

Peace is almost a religion to the women of the country. Practically every group of women is willing to endorse a resolution on the World Court. They have journeyed to Washington in delegations to visit Senators, and to attend conferences; their voices have been definite and sustained, Washington knows where the women stand on this subject. Every type has been represented—Catholic and Jew, colored and otherwise, Republican and Democrat, and organizations social, civic, political, literary, professional, musical, commercial, labor, collegiate, and so forth. In Philadelphia two hundred women's organizations stood ready to endorse a World Court resolution!

However, there is a type of society woman that I ran across occasionally to whom the World Court has not loomed on the horizon. This is not a *carte blanche* indictment, in fact it is not an indictment at all. One woman whom I remember vividly, and one who must be relegated to this class, was a thoroughly energetic person contributing herself generously to charitable fêtes and politics—utterly oblivious of social welfare, utterly ignorant of political issues. I have seen her work eight and nine hours a day. When I mentioned the World

Court to her she said that she "had never heard of it"—yet she had helped to elect Mr. Coolidge! When I tried to explain what it was she was frankly bored, and inclined to distrust anything she did not understand—yet she was well known locally for the splendid war work she had done! There is no answer to this anomaly. It is simply the supremacy of energy over thought. An espousal of the vogue with no thought of the reality!

Another woman asked me if the World Court were not a very radical move. Someone had told her it was.

"Not any more radical, my dear (I had known her before), than your vote for Mr. Coolidge."

"Oh, I'm so glad," she said. "Won't you tell me something about it?"

I explained it to her as simply as I could. She listened very attentively. She really wanted to be converted for my sake, though I assured her that it was not necessary to stretch friendship to that extent.

When I had finished she gave a sigh of relief, and said, "Oh, is that all? That's very reasonable."

*How the Labor Unions Stand*

The following excerpt from the letter of a prominent labor leader is indicative of the interest shown by this group:

In reply to your letter will say that I am, indeed, pleased to know that you share my views on the subject of first circularizing the unions with literature on the subject of the World Court before asking for their endorsement of the plan.

I assure you that I will gladly send not only a letter with the literature, but will, if agreeable to you, mail the matter from our office.

Any time it suits your convenience I will be pleased to meet you to confer further on some practical plan of procedure.

Another labor leader gave the following terse comment when he signified his willingness to coöperate: "I've been in one war, and I don't want another to come along that my children will have to fight in, if I can help it."

The labor unions strongly support the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms.

*College Presidents, Lawyers, Judges*

I have yet to find a college president who is not interested in peace in general and the World Court in particular. As a class, they seem to view the situation with a fine perception. In fact, they are so well informed that my end of the conversation is

soon over, and I frequently find myself listening to schemes of university expansion—as in one case when I listened to the fascinating and stupendous plans for a fifty-story college building. The World Court was a frankly conservative bystander in its field compared to the progressive element displayed by such a program.

Lawyers and judges are usually our strong friends. Their imagination stimulated by their sense of logic finds the World Court a very reasonable step. They see at once the necessity for an international court—a court for nations as well as one for individuals—why not?

Only one judge refused to listen to my story. He told me querulously that he was not interested in anything of a semi-political nature, therefore *not* in the World Court. A strange point of view from one accustomed to administer justice! The usual proportion was two or three judges to a committee. In one city every judge on the bench served on the committee for the World Court mass meeting.

#### *Attitude of the Church*

The church has particularly espoused the cause of the World Court. As someone said to me recently, "Washington has been deluged with delegations from the church and women's organizations." The Federal Council of Churches in America has definitely carried on a World Court campaign which has reached the 120,000 churches in its membership, and yet the church as a whole does not coöperate as might be expected. Though I have great respect for what it has done, I still feel that a large potential force lies within its doors waiting to spring into action under leadership.

In one city the local federation of churches invited one hundred churches to coöperate in the World Court mass meeting, and fifteen answered the appeal! A follow-up of the clergy disclosed splendid spiritual views on peace, perfect accord with the World Court, but pure apathy as to actually using the mechanism at hand to obtain an expression of opinion from their congregations. In other words, ministers as a group, and in their own organizations, are interested and coöperative, but they do not carry the idea to the ultimate—their congregations.

The church, of course, is a very logical coöperating power for this type of movement. If properly inspired and organized, there is no limit to the influence and

practical accomplishment within this body which has membership lists comprising 20,000,000 individuals.

It is only fair to add that there were some ministers who coöperated with fine enthusiasm and efficiency; the clergy as a whole can be counted on as a firm proponent of the World Court.

#### *Business Groups*

The business man and the business men's organizations were most interesting—if not the most interesting group with which I came in contact. Perhaps this was because they are held in awe by peace circles as supposedly impervious to appeal. But I did not find them "hard-boiled" to the cause of the World Court; in fact, the bigger the business man, the greater his interest in a means to outlaw war, the more eager to endorse the World Court as a mechanism to help carry out such an objective. This is perfectly logical—spiritually and materially war is barren. To-day it is a bad business venture. National debts are difficult to settle; there is actual loss and long deferred payment; capital and markets are wiped out of existence. Stabilization is a necessary adjunct to good business. Splendid flashes of idealism and high purpose were shown to me by men in this group.

There was one old man who spoke to me with an intensity that I shall not forget: "Young lady, I fought in the Civil War, my son fought in the World War, I consider that I have a right to speak. War is un-Christ-like in the eyes of God, it is damnable in the eyes of man, and an insult to common sense and justice. I will do everything in my power to help along the entry of the United States into the World Court." He was at the head of a great organization, and a large business, with a reputation for being as good as his word.

He was unlike the man who asked me if I had consulted certain "interests" in the city before going ahead with the formation of a committee for a World Court mass meeting. I did not see the "interests" in question, but at the same time was able to procure interest and coöperation from the ablest and most influential men of the city—many of them men with State and even national reputations.

Business men's groups coöperated in an amazing way. Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs, Lumbermen's Exchange, Association of Credit Men, Drug Exchange, Shoe Whole-

salers' Association, Sash-and-Door Association, Oil Trade Association, were a few of the varied types of groups that gave their assistance. Chambers of Commerce were of inestimable value. They endorsed, and often lent the machinery of their organizations to further the movement in interesting other groups. So far as the business man and his organizations were concerned, there was no difficulty in interesting either of them; it is true I sometimes found them inactive proponents, but they were easy to stimulate. The World Court idea was just plain common sense to them.

#### *The Senate Postpones Action*

While this effort was being made over the country to obtain a further expression of opinion from the people, an attempt to bring about action was started at Washington last winter.

Early in January, Senator Swanson of Virginia pressed the Foreign Relations Committee to take up the other World Court resolutions before it, including one that he had introduced providing for the Harding-Hughes terms. The Committee agreed to do this on January 14, then postponed consideration until January 21, and after some discussion on that day the resolutions were put on the program for January 28. Further postponement was made, and the usual deferred action was the only result of this attempt.

On January 8, meanwhile, Senator Willis of Ohio followed a different form of Senate procedure by printing his resolution, and letting it lie on the table. The result of this would be that he could ask for substitution and action on it whenever the Pepper resolution was taken up. Senator Willis' resolution provided for the participation of the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice on the Harding-Hughes terms, with the additional stipulation that the United States should not be bound by advisory opinions.

On January 17, early in the last session, Senator Shipstead of Minnesota announced that he had received many telegrams and letters asking for Senatorial action on the World Court, and that in his estimation "any question in which there is such manifest interest on the part of the people should have an opportunity to be debated, and heard upon the floor of the Senate at the earliest possible moment." Nothing was done.

#### *The President's Reiterated Support*

On January 24, President Coolidge in an address to a delegation of societies gathered in Washington, said:

None can stand alone. None dares court isolation. None may risk the ill opinion of civilization. . . . If the lesson of this last and greatest war shall be lost, then, indeed, will this experience have been almost in vain. It is for this generation which saw and survived to devise measures of prevention. If we fail in this, we shall deserve all the disaster which will surely be visited upon us, because of our failure. . . . I believe that the next step which we may well take is by way of participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Though the House of Representatives does not share in the Senate's responsibility for conducting our foreign policy, it passed a resolution on March 3 endorsing the World Court with the reservations recommended by President Harding and President Coolidge. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 301 to 28. The House took the position that it was entitled to express an opinion on a subject of such importance, especially in view of the fact that it might be called upon later to appropriate funds.

It is history now that the United States Senate *did not* bring up the question of the World Court for discussion and vote at the session of Congress which ended March 4.

In his inaugural address Mr. Coolidge reiterated his stand:

We ought to engage in no refinements of logic, no sophistries and no subterfuges to argue away the undoubted duty of this country by reason of the might of its numbers, the power of its resources and its position of leadership in the world actively and comprehensively to signify its approval and to bear its full share of the responsibility of a candid and disinterested attempt at the establishment of a tribunal for the administration of even-handed justice between nation and nation. . . . In conformity with the principle that a display of reason rather than a threat of force should be the determining factor in the intercourse among nations, we have long advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes by methods of arbitration and have negotiated many treaties to secure that result. The same consideration should lead to our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The stand of President Coolidge is unmistakable, definite, emphatic.

#### *Procedure in the New Senate*

On March 5, Senator Willis and Senator Swanson reintroduced their World Court resolutions in the new session of the Senate. This, of course, was a necessary procedure as all old bills "died" on March 4. Senator

Pepper did not reintroduce his proposal, but will probably do so at a later time. For a few days after the inauguration, the press reported that there was a possibility of President Coolidge asking for action on the World Court at the short extra session of the Senate called for confirmation of appointments. This idea, however, was abandoned, and the report from the White House was that the Senate knew the President's feeling in this matter, and for the time being, at least, he would not press for action. The question will be taken up when Congress reconvenes in December. It is now scheduled for December 17. In all fairness to the people of the United States the shuffling and evasion of the last two years must come to an end!

*The Country's Answer to Mr. Root's Question*

Our participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice is a very simple, a very obvious step to take, it is only an attempt to substitute law for war, a court where nations may plead their cases, and be judged according to an established code of international law—which law has been in a somewhat fluid state due to the lack of a permanent tribunal. Even the proponents of the World Court do not feel that the millennium beckons. The policeman and his big club are still in the offing, and efforts beyond number must yet be made before law is substituted in its entirety for war. The World Court is only a step in this direction, but there are no more important steps than those first ones that blaze a new trail toward a great objective.

Mr. Root's question has been replied to, and, if the reply is not entirely satisfying, it is most encouraging. People are thinking and caring about an issue concerning which, as a whole, they never cared or thought before. War for centuries was the great adventure; to-day it is the great disaster. It is fast being shorn of its false glory and romance. Those elements in their true sense are being sought under circumstances that demand peace. Valor and high purpose have ceased to require the geography of the battlefield. For reasons spiritually and materially responsible the thrill has been taken out of war!

In the final analysis Mr. Root's question was answered on the first page by the man

in the street as all such questions must be answered. It is true that those who have thought deeply on this subject, care deeply. Others are thinking, caring in a quiet way, waiting to declare their feeling at the slightest provocation, while vast numbers, apathetic, inarticulate, pace the street with ideas unformed, nebulous, none the less real, none the less significant, ideas breathing and unborn, the hope and the bulwark of the future! The reply of the man in the street is strikingly indicative of the strata of existent feeling. When he has reached the state of mind of to-day one may be sure that other minds, more searching, have arrived at a definite conclusion as to a potential means, and a strength of conviction quite out of the ordinary. The man in the street is the true barometer of public feeling! And though he does not blaze the trail, he is the one who ultimately determines whether that trail shall become a shining highway or a tangled underbrush.

The attitude of that great army which is attempting to take a step toward outlawing war by means of participation in the World Court—President, ex-President, Presidential nominee, statesmen of both parties, the majority of the voters, leaders and members of great national organizations, heads of all possible groups, people dedicated to every type of progress—is a matter of record. In gathering together their testimony I have faithfully tried to give you a full picture, the opinions pro and con, sweet and bitter—an honest cross-section of public opinion. That the thinking man *cares* is an established fact; the man in the street, more difficult to analyze, at once more simple and more subtle, answers Mr. Root's question with a certain show of wonder at a query of which the answer is so obvious, "Of course, *I care!*" Then he dismisses the thought from his mind, and turns to his own small circle of interests, seemingly oblivious that he must care more deeply if he desires to perpetuate that same small circle. The time is not far distant when those thoughts, still nebulous, will be outlined, definite, when arms and armies must become impotent before the force of public opinion!

The concrete issue of the moment is the World Court on the Harding-Hughes terms. The people have spoken; it is now the United States Senate's turn to act.

# CAILLAUX'S OPPORTUNITIES

BY ALZADA COMSTOCK

(Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology at Mount Holyoke College)

JOSEPH CAILLAUX has returned to the French capital to appear in the rôle of financial savior before the Senate which found him guilty of treason and banished him not many years ago. The new Minister of Finance is easily the most conspicuous figure in the Cabinet formed by M. Painlevé late in April. Unhurried and watchful, he has refused to be stampeded into hasty public statements or unpremeditated action. With his ancient enemies still raging he set himself promptly to his work of examining the condition of the budget and the treasury.

Caillaux does not consider the field of his country's finance a suitable one for fireworks. No more proposals of capital levies and their like are to come from the Ministry of Finance. In particular, the proposal which proved fatal to the Herriot government, that of a 10 per cent. "voluntary" levy, is considered economically unsound and politically inadvisable. Caillaux has undertaken a more sober task, that of convincing the common citizen of France that the days of individual sacrifice and hard work for all of the people all of the time have come upon the country. Whatever his political divergencies from his predecessors in office may have been and may remain, his efforts to bring permanent stability to France may prove to be an enviable patriotic service.

For his harassed country, paradoxical with its private thrift and its governmental improvidence, needs just such a program as he has announced. The French citizen has too often drugged his keen business intelligence whenever it has been necessary

for him to consider the affairs of the public purse. The public treasury has too long been treated as a magic chest, capable of providing all things for all men.

## *The Need of Frankness*

It may be that an era of plain speaking has come in with the new ministry. If it has, many English and American friends of France will believe that the first requirement of financial progress has been met. "It is no criticism of our French friends," a metropolitan newspaper reports Irving T. Bush as saying soon after Caillaux accepted his post, "to urge them to meet squarely economic facts which can not be escaped. The French people have been fooled too long. Their friends have been too kind and not sufficiently frank. This is Caillaux's great opportunity."

Sir George Paish, writing a little later for one of the American papers, also refers to the curious imperviousness to the financial situation which the French public has shown in these last few years. "The wonder is," he says, "that the French people did not realize that the enormous borrowings of their government not only during the war but in the period from 1918 to the end of 1923 were placing burdens upon them they would not only be unwilling to bear but which they could not bear."

## *Caillaux's Immediate Task*

The most urgent need which the new Minister of Finance must meet is that of providing money with which the government can meet its short-term obligations



JOSEPH CAILLAUX  
FRENCH FINANCE  
MINISTER

(Former Prime Minister; found guilty in 1920 of "correspondence with the enemy"; granted amnesty in December last; entered new French cabinet of Painlevé in April)

The budget itself, M. Caillaux announced after his first inspection, is in good shape and practically balanced. The "double decime," or 20 per cent. addition to existing direct taxes which helped to make the Poincaré government unpopular in the spring of 1924, together with subsequent minor changes, has brought up the revenue remarkably. It is the treasury which is in trouble. The difficulty of the moment is that of meeting the current payments on some seventy billion francs of floating debt, payments which must be met from month to month. It was this problem which brought out Herriot's suggestion of a capital levy and in the end caused the fall of his government.

The problem of finding the money to pay off current obligations is not a new one, but it has recently grown to serious proportions. The government has now almost no way to turn. It can no longer borrow internally to good advantage, for it has already been forced to offer so high a rate of interest that French prestige and credit have suffered. The final resource has been the private banks. These banks, bringing their government securities to the Bank of France, have asked for francs to an amount which the Bank of France could not meet. The Bank of France, in turn feeling the pressure, has been forced to exceed the circulation limit of forty-one billion established in September, 1920, and so has helped to bring about the ministerial crisis of the first days of April.

#### *A New Bait for the Taxpayer*

Before the situation reached its climax the government exhausted every means at its disposal to get money. The use of "check-contributions" was one of the most ingenious of the devices by means of which it hoped to tide over the emergency. The object of issuing the checks is to promote the payment of income taxes and other direct taxes in advance by giving the taxpayer a discount on all such payments. It was announced that after March 20, 1925, the new checks could be obtained, at the rate of 95 for 100 francs face value, at any tax office, bank, or post-office. On receipt of his tax assessment the taxpayer is entitled to remit his checks, which are accepted at their full face value, in payment. The taxpayer, therefore, reaps an appreciable financial advantage from anticipating his obligations to the treasury, and at the

same time the government has one more chance to lay its hands on ready cash.

#### *The Paradox of Prosperity*

This critical stage in French fiscal affairs was reached at a time when the country was fairly blossoming with prosperity. "Unemployment is almost unknown," says the London *Economist's* "Commercial History of 1924." The last year shows "a continuous improvement in trade and industry" and "a continued general improvement in the material situation of practically every class in the community." A favorable trade balance has been established, and the yield from taxation has been "phenomenal."

This prosperity has continued into 1925. In the first three months, even while the fiscal storm was brewing, France was piling up an export surplus of more than a billion francs. The situation was far better than it was before the war, for in the first three months of 1914 exports fell behind imports by nearly 700,000,000 francs.

In view of this industrial and commercial activity it takes no expert eye to see that French fiscal affairs have been mishandled. Untroubled by the unemployment which has never ceased to harass England since the war ended, with a balance of trade which Italy openly envies, with an internal activity and prosperity almost unmatched, France has nevertheless been placed in the astounding position of being unable to find the money to meet the government's current needs, to say nothing of the perennial debt question. There has been unwise planning somewhere.

#### *The Taxation Argument*

The French have grown restive under the allegation, so frequently heard from foreigners, that the trouble comes from the fact that their patriotism stops short of a willingness to pay taxes. They point to the growth of the tax bill. "The French taxpayer does pay six and one-half times as much as he did ten years ago and three times more than he did five years ago," said the French Ambassador to the United States early in April.

The total and the individual tax bills have in fact grown enormously. For 1924 the individual tax payments were about \$35 per capita. This appears to be about one-half of England's per capita burden, and possibly, taking into account the re-

sources from which the French make their contributions and other variable factors, the payment is not much less for the French.

Caillaux, knowing this, still has no illusions. He gives the French taxpayer due credit; in fact, he believes that when all payments are taken into account the Frenchman pays as much as the Englishman; but in one of the arguments on this subject in the Chamber of Deputies he added, significantly, "Unfortunately for the state of the French Treasury the English began paying taxation for war costs sooner."

#### *Caillaux and the Income Tax*

The French public is fully prepared for a more drastic tax régime under Caillaux, but the form which it seems about to take may prove unpalatable. For in the new Minister of Finance an apostle of direct taxation has arisen, and the income tax, the tax most disliked and most actively evaded, is apparently about to come into its own. "A just and merciless imposition of taxes on all incomes, large and small, without exception or distinction, and an inexorable taxation of opulence, such are the remedies," said Caillaux shortly before he returned to Paris. To the French ear those are ominous words.

The French income tax is now a tax of some years' standing. It is an intricate and carefully devised system, with various rates for different categories of taxpayers and classes of income. On paper it looks very well. But the tradition that the Frenchman cannot be reconciled to direct taxation finds some justification in the fact that the agriculturalists, the country's most numerous class, have managed to escape paying all but about one per cent. of the revenue from the tax in these last years, and in the fact that the rich have succeeded in evading the tax effectively. In speaking of the latter, Caillaux remarks, "Millionaires will pay just like other taxpayers."

#### *The Game of Tax Evasion*

The extent to which tax evasion is resorted to is amazing, and the devices by which the government has tried to cope with it are curiously impotent. By February, 1925, de Lasteyrie's famous "bordereau de coupons" was admitted to be a failure. This device, called "iniquitous espionage" and other names of the sort by the French press, required the registration of securities. The requirement was that in order to cash

his coupons the security holder should give to the cashing bank his name, address, and certain details concerning the securities held. It was hoped that this machinery would provide the government with a more effective check on income tax payments.

The measure had no chance of success. Billions of francs' worth of securities were sent out of the country in order to escape registration. Other bondholders left their coupons uncashed rather than reveal themselves to the tax collector. At the first of February, 1925, the value of the securities exported was estimated at 20 billion francs. The value of the uncashed coupons was unascertainable. Shortly afterward the Herriot government abolished the system.

With the discarding of the "bordereau de coupons" Herriot's last hope of appreciably improving income tax payments was gone. It remains to be seen whether Caillaux can do better. The French taxpayer does not change his habits overnight, and it is one thing to frame a more drastic income tax law and another to collect the proceeds from a nation of farmers and investors.

#### *The Inescapable Debt*

Undoubtedly Caillaux will aim for other reforms, both in the field of taxation and outside it. He has promised, for example, to enforce the law against the export of capital. The expenditure side of the budget, too, is to be reformed and pared down. "Work and economy," Caillaux has said, "that is the regimen."

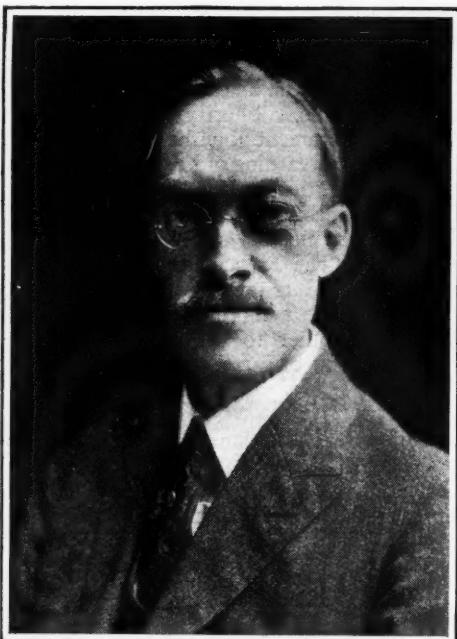
But economy is as difficult as tax reform. Many a critic in the foreign press has inveighed against the size of French military expenditure, but as long as France fears for her security the pressure of public opinion will keep up the military forces. It is said, too, that administrative expenses are unnecessarily large, and that the government employs four civil servants where one could do the work. Possibly Caillaux can save more easily in administration items.

If Caillaux proceeds with the plan of funding the foreign debt and so reestablishing France's financial prestige abroad, debt charges will cost the country more rather than less for a while. Already, with the bulk of French foreign obligations ignored, interest absorbs nearly one-half of the national revenue. It is therefore a matter of prime importance that the tax receipts should be brought up and the floating debt situation improved.

# OUR TROPICAL FOOD SUPPLY

## THE DANGER FROM DISEASE, AND THE CHALLENGE OF SCIENCE

BY L. R. ENDER



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DR. WILLIAM A. ORTON, DIRECTOR OF THE  
TROPICAL PLANT RESEARCH FOUNDATION

(After a quarter-century of service as plant pathologist in the Department of Agriculture, Dr. Orton has resigned to direct this new research undertaking. He played an important part in checking disease in the cotton fields of the South and the potato areas of the North)

**I**N A VERY few years, said President Coolidge recently at the national conference of the landgrant agricultural colleges in Washington, the natural increase in population and the inevitable tendency to industrialization will place us among the nations producing a deficit rather than a surplus of agricultural staples.

"We were fairly on the verge of that condition when the World War gave a temporary and artificial stimulation to agriculture which ultimately brought disastrous consequences. Even to-day, if in making up our balance sheet we include our requirements of coffee, sugar, tea, and wool,

we already have a considerable agricultural deficit," he said.

"It may not be generally known, but even now we consume more calories of food in this country than we produce. The main reason is that we do not produce nearly enough sugar. Our only agricultural exports of consequence are cotton, meat products, and wheat; and as to the latter two it must be plain that the scales will shortly turn against us. We shall not only be an agricultural importing nation, but in the lives of many who are among us we are likely to be one of the greatest agricultural buying nations."

This country is rapidly undergoing a fundamental change of character. Seventy-five years ago we were predominantly agricultural. To-day we are predominantly industrial. Our farm population has been going rapidly to the cities to take the jobs there with shorter hours and longer money. They are still going. They will continue to go. They have already gone to the city industries to such an extent that the economists who take the long view have given up speculating on what the American farmer will do with his exportable surplus and have begun to wonder where industrial America is going to get all the stuff it will need to eat and otherwise use.

### *Vast Food Imports from the Tropics*

The tropics, where nature is bountiful and prolific, have long been an important storehouse for the American pantry. Much that we eat and use otherwise comes from there, and as time goes on more and more will come from there. Even now we are annually consuming about one and one-half billion dollars' worth of sugar, coffee, cocoa, chocolate, tea, bananas, coconuts, pineapples, spices, rubber, fibers, etc. The tropical products we daily consume have become so staple with us that we scarcely stop to think of them as imports. But we would think of them if, all of a sudden, our

communication by sea were to be cut off; we would find so many customary items missing from our tables that our stomachs would be acutely pinched.

Last year we imported from the tropics about 4,000,000 tons of sugar; 1,400,000,000 pounds of coffee; 380,000,000 pounds of cocoa and chocolate; 107,000,000 pounds of tea; 800,000,000 pounds of rubber; millions of bunches of bananas; and millions of pounds of pineapples, spices, coconuts, fibers, tropical woods, etc.

To take commercial advantage of the growing demand for food products and other materials from the tropics, American business men in the last twenty-five years or so have been going into the tropics with their energy and capital to promote and carry on the business of growing, harvesting, shipping, and selling the tropical crops in the markets of the world—in which we are the large buyer. These Americans have been clearing dense forests to make way for crop cultivation, building railroads through jungles, swamps, and mountains, and building towns, mills, refineries, docks, warehouses and hospitals.

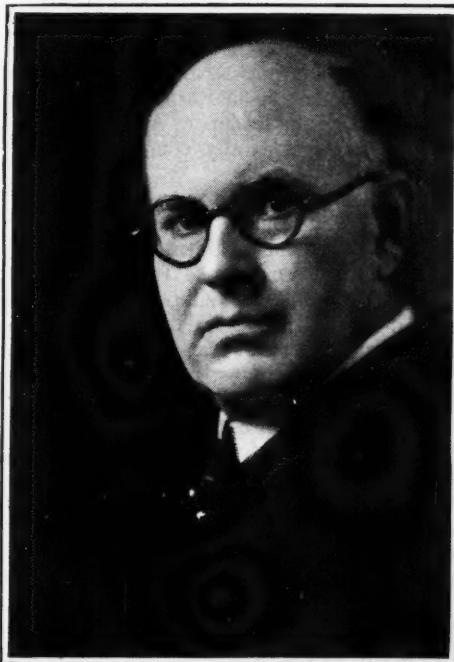
#### *A Disease for Every Plant*

When the banana people were doing well, along came the "Panama Disease," somewhat like the wilt which some years ago threatened to destroy the cotton business of the Southern States. It wiped out thousands of acres of banana land in Panama, forcing the abandonment of heavy investments made to grow and market the fruit.

Then came the "bud rot" threatening the coconut business. This is the most destructive disease of the coconut plant. The crown of the tree rots and the tree always dies. Probably a greater variety of products comes to our markets from the coconut tree than from any other plant that grows in the tropics—coconut butter, grated coconut, copra, soap, doormats, brushes, etc.

The leaf rust of coffee has wiped out the coffee industry of the island of Ceylon, and greatly damaged that of Java, and if this disease were to gain foothold in Brazil without effective steps to checkmate it, practically every American family would feel the loss. The rust is not yet affecting Brazilian coffee, but other things are.

Diseases have been doing great damage to the sugar-cane of the Antilles. There are two principal diseases that have been damaging, even threatening the existence of



COL. WILLIAM BOYCE THOMPSON

(Who founded and endowed the Thompson Institute for Plant Research, near his home at Yonkers, N. Y., the facilities of which have been placed at the disposal of the Tropical Plant Research Foundation)

sugar-cane agriculture. One is the "mosaic," which has been thought to be quite like the mosaic of American and European potatoes. It is sometimes called the "yellow fever" of the sugar-cane. What causes it is not known. Scientists think it may be an ultra-microscopic, filterable something, probably a protozoan carried around by a plant louse. The disease often kills the cane, but if it does not it so weakens the plant that production is greatly reduced. The root disease is another blight of the sugar-cane, more serious than the mosaic. It cuts down the sugar crop, and often kills the cane plants, which necessitates expensive replanting of cane in new areas.

The World War forced this country to consider seriously where to get food supplies near at home and how to increase those supplies to the maximum. The National Research Council, organized during the war by our leading scientists in all fields to do all they could to help win the war, went into the tropics and saw the seriousness of the food situation there. Dr. William A. Orton, for many years a leading United States Department of Agriculture authority on plant

diseases, a member of the National Research Council, took a deep interest in the tropical plant problems, and two years ago he called a meeting in Boston which made contacts with the leaders of American commercial interests vitally concerned in the tropical crop businesses.

#### Fighting Sugar-cane Diseases

It was not long until the Cuban cane-sugar producers indicated that they were ready to give financial support to an effort of leading scientists to find out what was the matter with the sick sugar-cane and to take steps to save the industry from the menacing plant diseases. Fifty-seven of the sugar mills of Cuba, representing nearly half of the \$400,000,000 four-million-ton annual production of the island, joined hands and agreed to contribute \$500,000 toward the cost of a five-year campaign of research by scientists into the sugar-cane problems of that great production area.

Then Doctor Orton, who had found out what was the matter with the cotton in the South and had done such signal work for the potato producers of the North, organized the Tropical Plant Research Foundation; and with the backing of some of the world's highest scientific ability he has gone to Cuba to set up experiment stations and laboratories to find out what causes the diseases, to devise counter measures, and to help the planters and mills apply them.

The Foundation has undertaken a big job. What it is able to accomplish now and in the future is and will be of vital concern to the people of the world. The future productivity of one of the world's most important sources of food and materials is involved.

When the work with sugar is well under way, other projects will be taken up. The diseases of other great tropical crops will be studied and combated if possible. The large fruit interests are interested, the

president of one of the greatest tropical fruit corporations being a member of the board of trustees of the Foundation.

#### Seeking New Timber in the Tropics

Intensified industrialism and the destruction of raw plant materials by diseases, and the consumption of these materials at a rate greater than nature will replenish the supplies in the civilized countries, is compelling a search into the tropics for new sources of supply. This country's supply of oak, hickory, and other hard woods has gone down to such a low point that we are now looking through the jungles of the tropics for woods to take their place.

We used to get our tannin for tanning leather from our chestnut timber, but disease from the Orient has practically wiped out American chestnut, and we are now getting tannin from the quebracho tree of the tropics. The tropics have their teak, green-heart, and mahoganies which we must import more and more. We now make our lead pencils and cigar boxes from tropical cedars. The time probably is not far off when we must make our tool handles and cabinet furniture from wood shipped in from the jungles that shade the Equator. The Foundation expects to seek out timbers in the tropics and test them for all sorts of purposes and point them out to industries that need new sources of wood.

#### An Organization for Plant Research

The Foundation was organized under the auspices of the National Research Council. Coöperative relations will be maintained with the U. S. Department of Agriculture in several phases of its work. The administrative headquarters of the foundation is in Washington, D. C., and the main laboratory headquarters in the United States will be at the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, at Yonkers, N. Y., where unexcelled facilities are available.



DR. LEWIS R. JONES  
(Head of the department of plant pathology at the University of Wisconsin and president of the board of trustees of the Tropical Research Foundation)



DR. WM. CROCKER  
(Director of the Thompson Institute for Plant Research and former director of research in plant physiology at the University of Chicago)

The Foundation is to be governed by a board of nine trustees, five of whom must be scientists and four of whom may be representatives of business interests. The present board consists of—Prof. L. R. Jones, head of the department of plant pathology of the University of Wisconsin, president; Prof. Robert A. Harper, Torrey professor of botany at Columbia University and chairman of the committee on biology and agriculture of the National Research Council 1923-24; Dr. William Crocker, director of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, Yonkers, N. Y.; Dr. W. D. Hunter, representing the American Association of Economic Entomologists; Prof. S. C. Prescott, head of the department of

biology and public health of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; V. M. Cutter, president of the United Fruit Company, Boston; H. C. Lakin, president of the Cuba Company, New York; and Major George P. Ahern, former director of forestry in the Philippine Islands, Washington, D. C.

Dr. William A. Orton, recently resigned from the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture, noted authority on plant diseases and a prime mover of the Federal Government's campaign against the admission of alien plant diseases into this country, vice-chairman of the Federal Horticultural Board, is scientific and executive director of the Foundation.

## A LABORATORY FOR THE STUDY OF PLANTS

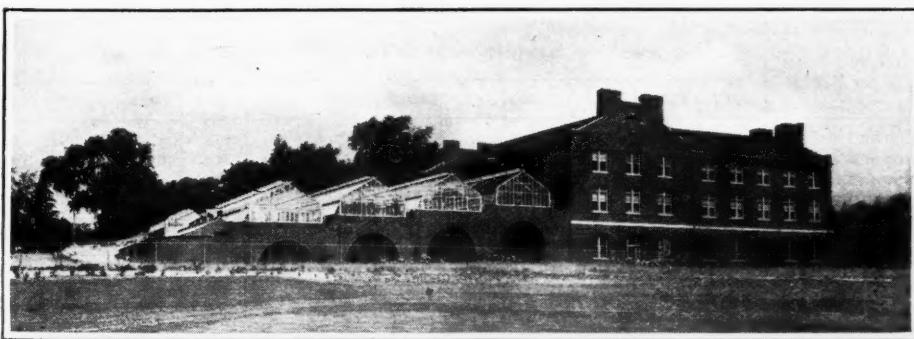
THE Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, referred to in the preceding article, is a privately endowed laboratory at Yonkers, just north of New York City, especially equipped for the study of plant problems. The Federal Government and several of the States have long maintained experiment stations in which excellent work is being done; but there seemed to be need for an institute where some of the basic long-time problems could be taken and worked out with adequate equipment and a well-rounded scientific staff. Col. William Boyce Thompson—copper magnate, friend of Roosevelt, and philanthropist—has supplied the funds, and a group of scientists under the leadership of Dr. William Crocker are furnishing the directing genius. The laboratory was opened last September.

The problem has been simply stated by Dr. Crocker: Our population is now increasing faster than agricultural production. Within twenty years there will be no surplus food, yet fifty years hence we shall require 75 per cent. more food than we now produce. Greater production must be brought about, mainly by increasing yields on fertile lands and by making poor lands more productive. As a foundation for such increases, years of basic scientific research will be required on propagation from

seed cuttings, cultural methods, use of fertilizers, production of new and better breeds of plants, and control of plant diseases and insect pests.

At the Boyce Thompson Institute there are facilities for controlling accurately and on a considerable scale the entire life of plants—light, temperature, humidity, and soil. There are four specially designed greenhouses, each divided into four sections, making sixteen separate rooms. There is apparatus for maintaining constant conditions of artificial light and darkness, and for supplementing daylight. There are five spectral-glass greenhouses, to determine the effect of various qualities of light. Refrigerating and electric heating plants make possible the absolute control of temperatures, and there is likewise mechanism for almost perfect adjustment of humidity. Piping for these services includes hot and cold water, gas, steam, compressed air, vacuum, drainage, refrigerator brine, distilled water, electric service, and exhaust and ventilating ducts.

The Institute has been in operation eight months only. Already it has generously offered its facilities to the scientists of the Tropical Plant Research Foundation, whose work is described in the article beginning on page 638.



THE BOYCE THOMPSON INSTITUTE FOR PLANT RESEARCH, AT YONKERS, N. Y.

# MOTOR-VEHICLE TAXATION

BY HENRY R. TRUMBOWER

(Economist, U. S. Bureau of Public Roads)

THE fees collected for motor-vehicle licenses and permits by the various States and the gasoline-tax levies amounted to approximately \$305,000,000 last year. The large increase in the number of automobiles and the fairly constant advance in licensing fees and charges, together with the levy of a gasoline tax by many States, result in this large contribution on the part of motor-vehicle owners, most of which is being devoted to highway construction and maintenance. The automobile has been found to be a new source of revenue for the State treasuries and even for the Federal Government, considering the fact that for the year ended June 30, 1924, there was collected \$160,028,548 as internal revenue from the sale of automobiles, motor trucks, tires, and automobile accessories and from passenger cars used for hire.

## *Now Over Two Hundred Millions a Year*

The sums of money which the States annually collect from motor vehicles in the shape of license fees and gasoline taxes are largely called forth by the large amount of expenditures made by these States for highway purposes. Again, the extensive use of the automobile has made it necessary for States and local communities to enter upon the work of highway improvement and development on large scales.

From 1901, the first year in which any

State imposed a license tax on automobiles, to the end of 1924, owners of motor vehicles paid \$1,023,806,571 into the treasuries of the several States, as nearly as can be determined. New York, in 1901, collected \$954 from this special kind of tax, the only State collecting it that year.

By 1910 the motor vehicle license fees of the country amounted to \$2,227,434; in 1920 they amounted to \$102,546,212; and for 1924 they reached \$225,492,252. In 1910 the average receipts per motor vehicle were \$4.70; in 1920 the average motor vehicle receipts had risen to \$11.10; and in 1924 they were \$12.80.

The yearly increase in the average payments per vehicle is evidence of the steady advance in the charges and fees for motor-vehicle licenses which characterized the period. How this advance occurred is shown in the table at the bottom of this page, a classification of the States for each year beginning with 1913 according to the average revenues received per car.

As shown by this tabulation, 21 of the States, or 42.8 per cent., in 1913 received average revenues per vehicle of less than \$5; 36 of the States, or 73.5 per cent., had in effect license fee schedules which yielded on the average less than \$10 per vehicle. Following 1913 there was a steady progression by amendment and revision of the State laws, involving increases in the rates

Average License Fee per Vehicle	Number of States, including the District of Columbia, in each class											
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
\$4.90 and less . . .	21	17	13	14	14	6	7	2	1	..	1	1
5.00 and \$9.90. . .	15	17	20	21	22	27	24	17	15	15	15	10
10.00 and 14.90. . .	9	11	12	11	10	9	10	18	21	17	16	21
15.00 and 19.90. . .	4	3	3	3	3	6	7	10	11	14	13	13
20.00 and 24.90. . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	1	3	4
25.00 and 29.90. . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..
30.00 and 34.90. . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total . . .	49	48 <sup>1</sup>	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49

(<sup>1</sup>) Michigan revenues lacking on account of unconstitutionality of the law.

of fees and reclassifications of motor vehicles, each measure tending to raise the average yield per vehicle, until by 1923 the only jurisdiction in which the average fee remained less than \$5 was the District of Columbia.

In 1920 it is observed that over 60 per cent. of the States charged fees and license taxes which yielded an average of \$10 and more per vehicle; in 1924, 38 of the States, or 78 per cent., were in this class. In this same year over three-fourths of the States had in effect scales of license fees which resulted in average revenues per vehicle of \$15 and over, and four of these States charged license fees which resulted in average annual revenues amounting to over \$20 per vehicle.

Another reason for the increase in average revenues per vehicle in this period was the special classification of the motor truck introduced by all the States, which resulted in the establishment of still higher rates for this type of motor vehicle. In addition, special classifications and charges covering automobiles for hire also tended to bring about an increase in the average license revenues.

#### *Average Fees in the Various States*

The average motor vehicle fees received in 1924 by the various States are set forth below in tabular form:

Oregon.....	\$24.90
Connecticut.....	23.40
Vermont.....	21.70
New Hampshire.....	21.40
Idaho.....	18.90
New Jersey.....	18.40
Pennsylvania.....	18.00
Delaware.....	17.20
Rhode Island.....	17.10
Minnesota.....	17.00
New York.....	17.00
Arkansas.....	16.50
Washington.....	16.50
Louisiana.....	15.70
Maine.....	15.20
North Carolina.....	15.20
West Virginia.....	15.10
South Dakota.....	14.60
Iowa.....	14.50
Virginia.....	14.50
Michigan.....	14.30
Massachusetts.....	14.20
Kentucky.....	14.10
Texas.....	12.90
Wisconsin.....	12.90
Tennessee.....	12.70
Alabama.....	12.50
Florida.....	12.40
Georgia.....	12.10
Maryland.....	11.70
Nebraska.....	11.70
Mississippi.....	11.40

Illinois.....	10.30
Kansas.....	10.30
Wyoming.....	10.30
New Mexico.....	10.10
Oklahoma.....	10.10
Nevada.....	10.00
Montana.....	9.80
Ohio.....	9.40
Missouri.....	8.40
South Carolina.....	7.10
Utah.....	7.10
North Dakota.....	7.00
Indiana.....	6.30
Arizona.....	5.90
Colorado.....	5.90
California.....	5.30
District of Columbia.....	4.30

A wide variation exists in the average fees collected, ranging from \$24.90 in Oregon to \$4.30 in the District of Columbia. The higher license fees in some of the States are explained by the fact that these States have exempted the motor vehicle from local property taxes and have raised the license rates accordingly. This policy has been adopted by Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Vermont.

There is a tendency for the fees to be lower in the western part of the country than in the eastern part. Of the 10 States whose average receipts per motor vehicle range between \$5 and \$10, only 3—Ohio, South Carolina, and Indiana—are east of the Mississippi. Though there are specific exceptions, the eastern States appear to charge a higher scale of license fees. The scale of motor fees charged in any given State is to a certain extent dependent upon the highway expenditures of that particular State and the policy which that State is following in financing its program of highway expenditures.

#### *Various Methods of Fixing License Fees*

For the purpose of levying these fees motor vehicles are divided into several classes. The main classifications, based on the type of vehicle, are: passenger cars; commercial cars or motor trucks, trailers, motorcycles. Many States make a further classification by making special provision in the scale of fees for passenger cars and motor trucks used for hire and classed as common carriers. A number of States also derive motor-vehicle revenues from licenses or permits issued to drivers of cars.

At the present time there are eleven different methods of levying fees upon

passenger cars in effect in the various States. These range from the flat license fee, with no attempt at classification, to complicated formulas for determining what should be paid for the privilege of operating motor vehicles of various types and capacities.

To show how this development of motor-vehicle license tax systems proceeded from a simple scheme of charges to the various systems now in effect there is presented here-with in tabular form a statement setting forth the different licensing systems of passenger cars in effect in the years 1908, 1912, 1914, 1921, and 1924:

Basis of license fee	Number of States				
	1908	1912	1914	1921	1924
Flat rate . . . . .	27	22	19	3	1
Horsepower . . . . .	3	14	27	27	19
Weight of vehicle . . . . .	..	..	5	7	
Gross weight (vehicle and load) . . . . .	..	..	3	6	
Cost or value of vehicle . . . . .	..	..	2	2	
Piston displacement . . . . .	..	..	1	1	
Horsepower plus gross weight . . . . .	..	..	3	4	
Horsepower plus weight, unloaded . . . . .	..	..	1	4	
Horsepower plus cost . . . . .	..	..	1	..	
Weight plus cost . . . . .	..	..	1	2	
Weight plus horsepower plus cost . . . . .	..	..	1	1	
Flat rate plus weight . . . . .	18	12	2	..	..
No license law . . . . .	48	48	48	48	48

As long as the emphasis in licensing automobiles was placed upon the State's police power, a nominal fee paid at the time of registration was deemed sufficient. When, however, the licensing of motor vehicles and the collection of registration fees began to be related to the problem of highway construction and maintenance, the revenue aspect was brought into prominence. As the need for highway funds became more pronounced, the license fees were advanced and motor-vehicle classification systems were introduced which would take into account two factors.

One of these factors was the extent of the road damage assumed to be caused by different types of cars and by cars of different weights. The other factor which was taken into account in the introduction of classification systems was the "ability-to-pay" principle which tends to crop out

in all discussions involving the problem of taxation. Aside from the question of highway use and road damage, the opinion was freely expressed in State legislatures that the owner of the larger car was in all probability better able to pay the higher license fees than the owner of the light and small car.

#### *Higher Rates for Commercial Cars*

Specific license fees for motor trucks, generally spoken of as commercial cars, were not provided for in the early days when legislatures passed their first motor-vehicle licensing acts, because the motor truck had not yet made its appearance. In 1914, while there were 46 States charging fees for the licensing of motor vehicles, only 11 of them made any special provision for the licensing of motor trucks. Seven of the States making special provision for the licensing of motor trucks, although they were charging for passenger cars fees based upon horsepower, charged them flat fees which in several instances were less than the regular rates applied to passenger cars of equal horsepower.

Massachusetts started out by charging a \$5 fee for motor trucks of all sizes and capacities and at the same time had in effect a scale of fees for passenger automobiles ranging from \$5 to \$25, depending upon the horsepower. This deviation in favor of the motor truck can be explained in two ways. At that time the passenger car was still regarded by many as a luxury and therefore capable of being heavily taxed, while the motor truck was considered useful and should, therefore, not be subjected to any undue burdens. A second reason which may have been in the minds of those who felt that motor trucks should not pay as high fees as passenger automobiles was that the motor trucks which were in use at that time were largely engaged in city operation; few were seen on the rural highways. These more or less nominal fees were charged rather on the police power theory than on the theory that revenues should be derived from them for highway purposes.

Four States established in the very beginning motor-truck fees at a higher level than for passenger cars. These States were the first to come to the conclusion that motor trucks, on account of their weight, damaged the highways more than passenger cars and should therefore be charged higher fees.

### *Wear and Tear Upon Roads*

At the present time 25 States levy motor-truck fees in accordance with carrying capacity, and 10 States base their schedule of fees on the gross weight of the truck and rated carrying capacity. In essence the theory underlying all of the various systems of classification is that the larger and heavier the truck, the higher should be the license fee. A number of States provide for differentials in fees depending upon the use of pneumatic or solid tires: motor trucks equipped with solid tires paying the higher rates. Recognition is given to the fundamental fact that if the license fee is to bear any relation to the road damage caused by the truck, the type of tires used should be taken into consideration in arriving at the amount of the fee.

Great variations in the fees charged for motor-truck registrations are observed. On the whole the rates are substantially higher than the rates applicable to passenger cars. The average license fee for a 1½-ton truck is \$31.15; for a 3½-ton truck, \$85.75; and for a 5-ton truck, \$139.39. In 1921 these averages were only \$27.55, \$64.05 and \$96.52, respectively. The advance in the fees within this three-year period is evident: the increase in the average license fee for a 5-ton truck was more than 44 per cent. Comparing individual States, wide differences in fees are found for motor trucks of the same capacity. While the average license fee for a 1½-ton truck, taking the country as a whole, is \$31.05, the fees in 8 States are from \$10 to \$19, but in one State the license fee is \$90 to \$99. The lowest fees charged for a 3½-ton truck are \$20 to \$29, and the highest are \$220 to \$229. For a 5-ton truck the lowest fees are \$20 to \$29 and the highest \$400 to \$409.

Only 29 States have records which show a separation of the registration figures and of the license revenues for passenger cars and for motor trucks. For these States the average passenger car fees were \$10.25 per vehicle and the average fees received from motor trucks were \$21.10. While the average motor-truck fees per vehicle were 105 per cent. higher than the average passenger-car fees, there were still wide differences in these 1924 reports. In one State, Montana, the average motor-truck

fees were only 18 per cent. above the average passenger-car fees. At the other extreme stood California, which showed the average motor-truck fees to have been 290 per cent. above the average per vehicle paid by passenger cars. A study of the changes and readjustments in licensing fees indicates clearly that in all States there is the same tendency to fix motor truck fees at constantly higher levels, particularly for those trucks of large capacities.

### *The Motorist's Contribution to Highways*

For the year 1924 there was expended on the rural highways of the country \$990,000,000, as nearly as can be determined. This includes all construction and maintenance expenditures on the part of the State, county, and local highway authorities; but it does not cover the interest payments and retirement of highway bonds, those items amounting to approximately \$100,000,000 in addition.

The revenues derived from motor-vehicle license fees and from gasoline taxes (the gasoline tax yielded \$79,000,000 last year) comprised about 31 per cent. of the total highway expenditures for 1924, not including the payments made on account of bond issues. In 1921 the motor vehicles had contributed only 13 per cent. to the country's total highway construction and maintenance bill. In preceding years the motor-vehicle's share was even less. In 1924, according to the best estimates that can be made, the motor vehicle bore approximately one-third of the total annual highway expenditures.

In the complete treatment of this subject it must not be overlooked that there was collected by the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Federal Government \$160,000,000 in excise taxes on the sales of motor vehicles and motor accessories and on passenger cars used for hire; only about a half of this amount was turned over to the States in federal aid for highway construction.

When it is taken into account, further, that in most of the States the motor vehicle is assessed as personal property and bears its proportionate share of the general property taxes, it is evident that a very substantial part of the country's highway program is financed by motor-vehicle owners and users.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## Shall America Arm for War?

THE vexed question of military preparedness is debated in the *Forum* by two eminent representatives of the armed forces of the United States. Rear-Admiral William L. Rodgers presents the argument for a policy of isolation and reliance upon our military strength. General Tasker H. Bliss, on the other hand, sets forth the view that America must enter into close coöperation and association with other nations in order that peace may be maintained and war ultimately eliminated.

Admiral Rodgers concedes at the outset that we are not a military people, as is clearly shown by the fact that we have never been adequately prepared for any war in which we have taken part. Yet he would characterize us as both militant and sentimental. That is to say, if either our sympathies or our interests are adversely touched by a foreign power, we are ready to commit the country to war rather than sacrifice sentiment. The Spanish-American War of 1898 is an illustration of this.

According to Admiral Rodgers, our present mild and peaceful outlook on the struggles of other nations is based on the abundance of land and of other natural resources that we now enjoy. As existence becomes harder, he predicts that the nation will lose some of the altruism which is now permitted it by ease of circumstances. Since we cannot expect economic and mechanical improvements forever to keep

in advance of the rise in population, the day will come when our growing numbers will press more heavily on the means of livelihood, and then our view of war as an international struggle for national well-being will be changed. The recent law staying immigration may, it is true, somewhat retard the growth of population and to that extent hinder the formation of an aggressive spirit among Americans.

Admiral Rodgers can see no advantage in our joining the League of Nations or accepting a World Court exercising compulsory powers. In our economic po-

sition we have natural advantages over other countries. We might live almost as a hermit nation, but as a matter of fact we send abroad about 10 per cent. of our products in exchange for foreign goods. In some way we must be guaranteed in our trade relations against the envy of the rest of the world. Admiral Rodgers reminds us that the defense of our trade begins not at our own shores but at those of our customers, and this suggests to him that the Open Door in China must be sustained by developing a merchant fleet and a navy sufficient to insure the Open Door for American commerce.

In upholding international coöperation General Bliss is far from decrying what he calls "reasonable preparation for national defense." He holds that the destruction of rights and liberties by war is incidental to other causes and motives, and the whole



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GENERAL BLISS



ADMIRAL RODGERS

problem of improved relations among states grows out of these contributory causes and motives that tend to war.

A few centuries ago individuals were frequently impelled to private war. The same sentiments operating in the aggregate of the minds of a nation impel it to public war. Communities finally put checks upon the operation of individual motives that led to private war. When the right to private war had been surrendered, the reign of law within the state became possible. That, says General Bliss, is the reason why we have civilization within the state. "Why is it so difficult for men to understand that without similar checks between states they

are liable to recurrent outbreaks of savagery that endanger the civilization so carefully nurtured from within? It would seem clear that some reasonable check to the exercise of the right of public war is just as necessary for the development of a binding system of international law as the total surrender of the right of private war was for the upbuilding of domestic law."

General Bliss is convinced that the great problems of the world affecting many states can never be settled even partially except in one or the other of two ways—by war, as heretofore, or by peaceful concerted action. It was to make such action possible that the League of Nations was created.

## Can the Democratic Party Be Saved?

THE well-known Democratic editor, George F. Milton, of Tennessee, gives frank expression to his views regarding the future of the Democratic party in the *Century Magazine*. He recognizes the existence of three Democratic parties, antagonistic in several basic doctrines, programs and ideals. These three parties are those of the South, the West and the East. They are separated by economic interests, social conditions, racial prejudices, differing religious faiths and the clash of altruists and materialists.

In the solid South the party has been conservative and often reactionary as to economic advances and as to governmental attention to the distressed units of our social organism. Throughout the West Mr. Milton finds the Democratic constituency and attitude decidedly different. In that part of the country politics is of the present and not of the past. Men join parties and vote for candidates because of economic interests. In the West Democracy is peculiarly the champion of economic causes. With the exception of Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas, politics in trans-Mississippi America has economics as a basis and not tradition:

The Western Democratic party is essentially progressive, almost radical. In Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, Montana, Colorado, California, one finds Democratic backing for State farm loans, State gasoline sale at cost to consumers, government ownership of railroads, child-labor legislation, full facilities for farm coöperation, Federal marketing supervision. Here one finds vigorous denunciation

of government by injunction. The farmer is class conscious, labor is assertive and well supported.

Democrats of the West think little of States' rights, a great deal of people's rights. They are habitually opposed to corporation control of government. They are in tune with the social and economic spirit of the times, and reflect it in their views of Democratic principles, aims, and leadership.

Turning to the East we again find religious intolerance, dense masses of newly naturalized immigrant voters, and boss-ruled cities. The city bosses, in fact, furnish the leadership of the party in most parts of the East.

If the party in the South is idealistic, traditional, individual, national, the party in New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Ohio, is local, commercial, boss-organized, boss-ridden. It is as highly industrialized as the region it inhabits.

In seeking an answer to the question whether any two of the Democratic party's geographic wings can be brought into accord on fundamentals, Mr. Milton finds ground for hope in the similarity of economic and social interests in the West and South. The two sections are united by their fundamental industry of agriculture. They are both opposed to industrial aggrandizement and inclined to moderate tariff policies. Both sections wish better agricultural credit systems, improved marketing facilities and more adequate foreign trade relations. They are united against Wall Street. He concludes, therefore, that the Democratic party as a virile political force can survive only through the union of the South and

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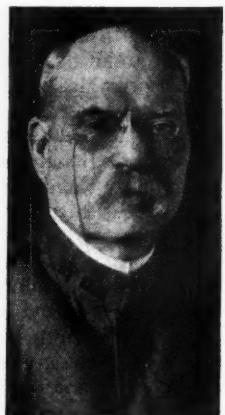
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the West. They are the natural Democratic allies.

Mr. Milton gives an illuminating survey of the last presidential campaign, tending to show that Mr. Davis, in accepting the advice of Eastern Democratic leaders and campaigning in the Eastern States, largely to the neglect of the West, made a serious mistake. In summing up the results, Mr. Milton points out that, even in those Eastern States in which hitherto good Democratic machines have functioned, the Coolidge vote was far in excess of the Davis and LaFollette votes combined. Mr. Davis did not receive a third of the total vote in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts or Illinois.

The Democratic vote percentage of these States in recent elections was as follows:

	1916	1920	1924
New York	47	30	29
New Jersey	44	30	21
Pennsylvania	43	29	10
Connecticut	48	35	30
Massachusetts	48	29	25
Illinois	45	27	23

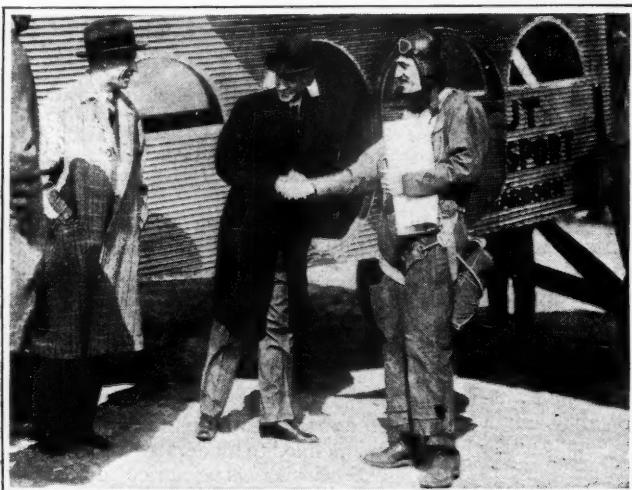
All of which demonstrates to Mr. Milton's satisfaction "the utter impossibility, as alignments are now fixed, of the Democratic party's succeeding in the Northeastern States. The solid North, as a formidable Republican bloc, has replaced the Democratic solid South as America's political Arctic Circle. The battleground for our party is the West, not the East."

## Awaiting the "Flivver" Airplane

THE air transport service successfully operated between Detroit and Chicago by the Fords, father and son, has greatly stimulated speculation about the flying "flivver" which the public expects to see developed in the near future. It is known that both Henry and Edsel Ford have long been interested in aerial transportation, but recently they have given very definite and concrete expression of that interest. A

correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal* (New York) has thus summed up what the Fords have already accomplished and are now doing to further the cause of aeronautical development:

1. They have built and equipped a 260-acre flying field for public use.
2. They are now erecting the largest dirigible mooring mast in the world.
3. Financially supporting the Stout Metal Airplane Co. and the Aircraft Development Corp., the former manufacturing all-metal airplanes and the latter, metal-clad dirigibles for commercial purposes.
4. Offering use of organization of Ford representatives in sale of product of above companies.
5. Making preparation for production of airplane motors in own plants.
6. Devoting part of engineering force and facilities at the new Dearborn laboratory to experimental work in aviation problems.
7. Coöperation with leading authorities in the industry.
8. Have declared intention of helping to make Detroit the center of the aircraft industry.



© Henry Miller

JUST BEFORE THE START OF THE STOUT METAL AIRPLANE, "MAIDEN DEARBORN," CARRYING FORD FREIGHT FROM DETROIT TO CHICAGO

(From left to right: Edsel Ford, President of the Ford Motor Company; Henry Ford, congratulating Edward G. Hamilton, pilot of the plane. A round trip is made between the Chicago and Detroit plants of the Ford Company every other day. Mail and small parts are carried.)

The first Stout all-metal airplane was sold to the United States a few months ago for air-mail service. The first plane to be completed in the new factory at the Ford

airport was the one that made the initial flight to Chicago in the regular air transport service. William B. Stout is the inventor of this type of plane, having conceived the idea shortly before the end of the war. The Fords have a firm faith in the all-metal plane, having closely followed the ingenious methods adopted by Mr. Stout in riveting together pieces of metal and adopting many "short-cut" devices in the manufacture of planes.

Discussing the possibility of a small flying Ford, Mr. Howard Mings says in the *New York Times* for April 19:

There is much speculation regarding a "flivver" airplane. It is not in existence, as yet. But several designs for a small flying Ford have been drawn on paper, and at least one of them has been set up as a sort of model "to see how it would look," according to the engineer who made the pattern.

The flying "flivver"—as it is now envisioned—will carry loads of two, three and four persons, or the equivalent in cargo; the cost to the purchaser will not be more than \$3,000 at the start with a gradual reduction in price as the design is further simplified and Ford production methods are applied.

But the small Ford plane must await the development of the Ford aircraft engine. To-day experiments are being conducted in the laboratories at Dearborn. Henry Ford and his engineers are developing motors large and small, the large motors to take the place of the present military engines that were brought out during the war, such as the Liberty.

Mr. Ford recognizes the fact that the military engines, as they exist to-day, are too heavy and too expensive to run for the work they can do. He expects to bring out lighter engines to do the same work, and a smaller motor giving more power for its weight than existing types. This may take the form of a radial, air-cooled engine, or it may be water-cooled and in the form of an inverted V. It may be one year and possibly two before the Ford engine sufficiently light and economical for air flivvers will be in the production stage. The small flying Ford depends on the perfection of such an engine.

## The Electrical Revolution

EVERY intelligent person knows about the industrial revolution which overtook an agricultural world with the advent of steam power, but we are now on the brink of another and even greater movement whose root is giant power. The *Survey Graphic* (New York) for May deals in an extremely interesting and well-informed way with the problem, stressing the keynote of regional planning. As expressed in a foreword, "the Regional Plan number has been made by people who are loath to live fractional lives in either city or country—and refuse to admit that civilization requires of them perpetually the sacrifices they must make to-day to reconcile the means to live with a way of living."

Lewis Mumford opens the symposium with an article on "The Fourth Migration," in which he asserts that America is still in a state of flux and traces the historical phase of community development. Dividing the settlement of the United States into migratory movements, he starts with the clearing of the continent and the "covered wagon" days, from 1790 to 1890. His second movement is defined as that from the countryside and foreign countries into the factory town; and the third began with the eighties, when financial consolidations of industry began, developing through the phases of growth of banking and insurance in the nineties and of national advertising in our

century. This latter drained goods, people and resources from the factory towns to the great cities.

The fourth migration seems to be taking place through the automobile, which tends to disperse population; the radio; the parcel post; and giant power.

"Dinosaur Cities" is the title of Clarence S. Stein's contribution, and his analysis is able and thorough, treating particularly the phase of street and transit congestion, with all its attendant evils in housing. He says:

To the few the great city gives all; to the millions it gives annually less and less. In spite of sanitary codes, tenement-house laws, and various other urban reforms, the prospects for decent human living have become distinctly worse in New York during the last generation. And New York, unfortunately, represents the goal toward which all our bigger centers are striving with might and main. For this reason I propose to examine New York's plight in greater detail, and to ask: Why the Great City? What are we putting into the Great City, and what are we getting out of it? How long can we stand the strains and difficulties that are peculiar to our large congested centers? What particular promise is there in planning for an increasing population in other large centers, if all these efforts are doomed eventually to result in the same difficulties? Is the Great City still the goal of our legitimate desires, or is it a monstrosity, a bloated spider that lures us into its web only to devour us? . . .

With broad, sweeping strokes, he paints the great picture of the overcrowded metropolis, beginning with the housing

failure in 1835, the breakdown of water supply and sewers which is so especially crucial to-day in such places as Chicago and New York, and the congestion of the street system when housing advanced beyond the six-story type.

There follow rapidly contributions from such experts as Frederick L. Ackerman, on "Our Stake in Congestion," and "Coals to Newcastle," by Stuart Chase, who studies the railroad and transportation situation. He states that:

There is no coal in New York, but there is 4,200,000 of undeveloped horsepower to be readily derived from falling water, of which only 1,300,000 is now utilized. If all were utilized, Steinmetz concluded that it would take the place of some 40 million tons of coal now shipped into New York, would serve to electrify all the railroads, save the labor of 500 locomotives, 15,000 coal cars, save 400 millions in railroad equipment and give us smokeless cities. . . .

To make a bad matter worse, Ford finds that freight cars are absurdly heavy. The weight, he says, ought to be in the load not in the car. Stronger steel cars at one-third the present weight would give vastly greater efficiency, for heavy cars "bang out the roadbed and bang out themselves." Furthermore, says Ford, we only get 6 per cent. of the potential power of coal out of that burned in a steam locomotive. "If the primary purpose of the railroads is to buy coal this is all right, but if the purpose is to move goods as economically as possible we cannot continue to waste this power." Electrification will enormously decrease the transportation cost per unit moved.

Two-thirds of all railroad expenses are terminal expenses, and two-thirds of this is wasted in the unplanned, competitive chaos of terminal facilities.

Lewis Mumford makes a plea for "Regions—to Live in." He says that regional planning brings to a head a number of the movements which have been under way for a quarter of a century:

But each approach has this in common with the others; it attempts to promote a fuller kind of life, at every point in the region. No form of industry and no type of city are tolerable that take the joy out of life. Communities in which courtship is furtive, in which babies are an unwelcome handicap, in which education, lacking the touch of nature and of real occupations, hardens into a blank routine, in which people achieve adventure only on wheels and happiness only by having their minds "taken off" their daily lives—communities like these do not sufficiently justify our modern advances in science and invention.

The new industrial revolution is an attempt to spread the real income of industry by decentralizing industry, by removing some of the burden of the business overhead and sales-promotion, ground rents in congested districts, and so forth. Far-sighted industrialists like Dennison and Ford are already planning this move, and business men like Edward Filene feel that business is at an impasse unless decentralization is followed as "The Way Out." Regional planning is an attempt to turn

industrial decentralization—the effort to make the industrial mechanism work better—to permanent social uses. It is an attempt to realize the gains of modern industry in permanent houses, gardens, parks, playgrounds and community institutions.

Finally, regional planning is the New Conservation—the conservation of human values hand in hand with natural resources. Regional planning sees that the depopulated countryside and the congested city are intimately related; it sees that we waste vast quantities of time and energy by ignoring the potential resources of a region, that is, by forgetting all that lies between the terminal points and junctions of our great railroads. Permanent agriculture instead of land-skinning, permanent forestry instead of timber mining, permanent human communities, dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, instead of camps and squatter-settlements, and to stable building, instead of the scantling and falsework of our "go-ahead" communities—all this is embodied in regional planning.

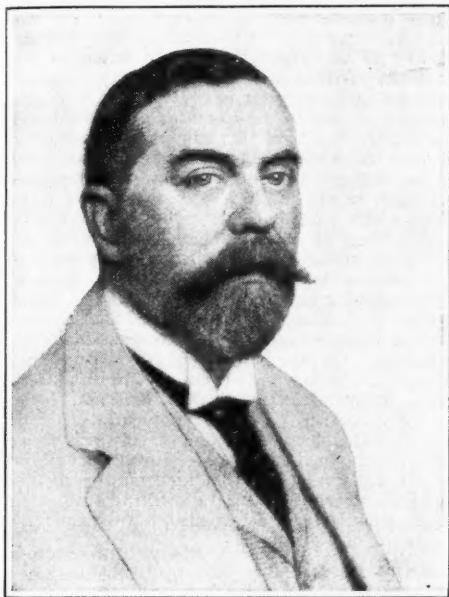
To review this already closely compacted symposium in detail would be physically impossible within our limits of space; but it will serve the reader to know that Governor Smith contributes a page on "Seeing the State as a Whole"; Henry Wright an extremely intelligent article on "The Road to Good Houses"; and Messrs. C. B. Purdom and Alexander M. Bing write on garden cities.

Robert W. Bruère's article on "Giant Power—Region-Builder," is a masterful analysis of superpower and regional planning in their forward-looking phases. He quotes Governor Pinchot's message on the Giant Power Survey Board report in Pennsylvania in March as follows:

Superpower is the interchange of surplus power at the ends of the distributing wires of each system. Its principal object is profit for the companies—not benefit for the public—and it is on the way to being realized with a rapidity which it is difficult to understand. . . . Giant power and superpower are as different as a tame elephant and a wild one. One is the friend and fellow worker of man—the other, at large and uncontrolled, may be a dangerous enemy. The place for the public is on the neck of the elephant, guiding its movements, not on the ground, helpless under its knees.

Mr. Bruère says that "regional planning approaches the problems of the great cities themselves not from within but from without, through the small town and the farm. The logic both of regional planning and of giant power points to the farm, the small town, the countryside as the first points of attack." There are 6,450,000 American farms, and less than 3 per cent. of them have electricity from central stations. His remarks about the services of giant power to women on the farm are extremely interesting.

## The Significance of Sargent's Painting



JOHN S. SARGENT, 1856-1925

SINCE the death of John Singer Sargent on April 15 there have appeared both in this country and in England many tributes to his genius as an artist. One of the most comprehensive among the briefer articles of this character was an editorial published in the New York *Herald Tribune*, after Sargent's death. In this editorial Sargent is characterized as a figure in modern art comparable only to the great leaders in the historic periods. He was, says the writer, our "old master"; "our single outstanding type of genius governed by complete technical authority."

He was great, primarily, in his mastery over the instruments of expression. Since Hals there has been no one to beat him in technical virtuosity. He drew with great force and precision. His brush-work was of that instinctive and magical variety which we associate with men like Hals and Velasquez. In powers of design he fell short of that standard which is designated as "the grand style." His group portraits, like the one which came to be known as "The Three Graces," or that other one which he painted from the Hunter ladies, were impressive *tours de force* without quite reviving the serene perfection of his greater predecessors. But design as it could be exploited in the presentation of a single figure was emphatically his. He "placed" the sitter with unerring tact and sometimes with an amazing felicity.

Important, too, was his grasp upon character. The anecdote is familiar about the aid which a portrait by him gave to the physicians who had previously been unable to diagnose the affliction of the woman who sat to him. He, with uncanny clairvoyance, pierced the center of the problem. Personal traits were to him very nearly as ponderable as the pigments he spread upon his palette. His portraits, when he was in the mood to make them, are merciless in their truth. He was not always in the mood, and latterly, in fact, he came fairly to hate the routine and various irritations of portraiture. To a visitor in his London studio he once declared in a half amused, half wrathful outburst, that he would paint no more portraits after he had once disposed of the half dozen he was at the moment engaged upon. "Women don't ask you to make them beautiful," he said, "but you can feel them wanting you to do so all the time." Nevertheless, he went on painting portraits, and it was lucky for mankind that he did so. It was lucky for him also, because despite other ambitions he was born to paint them.

In the opinion of this writer Sargent's mural paintings in the Boston Public Library and Art Museum, containing, as they do, some superb episodes, do not as a whole affirm his genius in an absolutely convincing manner. The decorative designer, working against an architectural background, requires a peculiar constructive aptitude. Such a gift seems to the *Herald Tribune* writer to have been denied to Sargent.

Alluding to the generally accepted opinion that Sargent was not in the habit of drawing upon his imagination in painting his pictures, the same writer says:

He never in his life deliberately romanticized a theme, but he was too much of an artist ever to leave it exactly as he found it. The truth painted by Sargent was always truth raised to a higher power, made more interesting through the beauty of his art.

For there was more to this virtuoso than the seeing eye and the accomplished hand. If he was not an imaginative man he was, on the other hand, a man of mind, an eager reader, an enthusiastic lover of music, and besides an indefatigable student of human nature. He painted the notabilities of the world, and in the process developed that intellectual insight which is the fruit of experience. He was literally a citizen of the world, an American through and through, who was, nevertheless, at home anywhere, a creature of cosmopolitan ties and initiations. When he went to work he painted with thought as well as with his diabolical dexterity, and the interest of that immense body of art which he has left behind him is not only aesthetic but psychological. With all his equipment, his vivid contacts, his full and uniquely successful life, he remained shy and modest, one of the most modest men ever

known. There is a pretty story of his watching one of the juniors for whom he was invariably a helpful friend, at work upon a picture in a garden. Asked for some advice he gave it, almost diffidently, and said, in a deprecating way, that he remembered once painting a garden picture of his own, speaking of it as though, of course, his interlocutor had not so much as heard of it. That was all that he could manage to say about the famous "Carnation, Lily—Lily, Rose."

Commenting on the fact that some of Sargent's works were placed in the National Gallery in London before his death, the London *Spectator* says:

This honor had been given to few other living artists; yet the inclusion of these works amongst the great pictures of the past called forth very little controversial displeasure; and although it was re-establishing a precedent that had been almost forgotten, the public felt quite sure that the future would accept this act of appreciation, and that the works of Sargent merited a place in the History of Art.

Undoubtedly his work will prove of inestimable value when posterity comes to cast its searching glance upon this age, for Sargent represents the very zenith of a particular phase of painting—a phase that can be closely paralleled with the Darwinian theory of evolution—a phase in which im-

portant stress is laid on the capture and prolongation of the present. The arresting of evanescent effects, the catching of the fleeting aspect, the transfixing of the illusory moment—these formed part of Sargent's artistic creed. "I do not judge: I chronicle," he is reported to have said. How well he lived up to his creed! He was the chronicler *par excellence*. With perfect economy of statement and treatment, with sureness in every brushful of pigment, he conveys to the spectator who beholds his painting the results of that rapidity and certainty of vision which were his to the highest degree.

Combined with this ability to harness the ephemeral effect to his brush is a spontaneity of technique which contributes a certain congruity to every subject he paints. This spontaneity is not merely an imposed piece of virtuosity but the natural corollary to his particular outlook. Because of this seeming rapidity of execution, whose effect at times is dazzling, it is only natural that the underlying construction should seem occasionally to be lacking. On examination, however, we find that Sargent is a thorough master of pattern—a pattern which consists of arrangements of light and shade, equitably balanced and inevitably related. The mere fact that his composition of masses is never obtrusive only makes his mastery over them all the greater. His work has that kind of construction which we observe in natural growth: it is not artificially manufactured nor applied, but springs from the nature of his subject.

## State Universities in State Politics

HOW can the university professor and the politician be made to coöperate for the good of all the people of the State? Such, essentially, is the question discussed in the *Century Magazine* for May by its editor, Mr. Glenn Frank.

It is assumed at the outset that there is need of sustained coöperation between the university and the State. As Mr. Frank points out, the art of government consists in bringing knowledge and power into a working partnership. Politics, he says, should be the point at which knowledge meets life and becomes socially effective.

Only so can we protect ourselves from the assaults of those catchwords, snap judgments, prejudices, passions, and special interests which, thief-like, infest the Jericho road of partisan politics. Politics needs a better underpinning of facts. Politics needs more laboratory workers and fewer log-rollers. Theoretically, at least, a state university should be the rallying ground and repository for the knowledge needed for the wise management of the life of the State. A State government is the rallying ground and repository for the power needed for the effective management of the life of the State. Obviously a State must contrive to harness both the power of the government and the knowledge of the university if it is to achieve "the good life" for its citizens. A State dare not allow the knowledge of

its university to languish for lack of power, or permit the power of its government to run amuck for lack of knowledge.

Not only does the State need this kind of coöperation, but the university needs it as well. It is Mr. Frank's belief that the roots of learning should be set deeply in the soil of current life:

There are enough things in the day-to-day life of our Missouris, our Wisconsins, and our Michigans, things in which the students of these state universities are of necessity interested, things they can see and touch and handle, to serve as vivid points of departure for the study of every field of knowledge known to university curricula. The closer learning can come to life, the more virile and valid learning is likely to be, if learning can keep from getting lost in the shuffle and can keep from adopting the standards of the market-place in uncritical surrender to the common life.

But assuming that the scholar is honestly trying to find a way of serving the State, he is seriously handicapped in such a service. Our democracies do not take kindly to the expert, and the man who is with the minority in his beliefs, on whatever subject, has a hard road to travel. When the scholar in politics tries to work side by side with the

politicians in the state government he is brought face to face with a sharp conflict between the scientific mind and the political mind. Mr. Frank puts it thus: "The scientific mind thinks from facts to policy; the political thinks from policy to facts. The scientific mind is sublimely indifferent to such words and labels as Conservatism, Liberalism or Radicalism. The political mind lives in terror of these labels."

Mr. Frank concludes that there is little danger of our state universities running away with our state governments, but he is also convinced that we cannot afford to let our state governments run away with our state universities. Is there, then, any workable coöperation between the two?

The research technic of the university can, through such agencies as legislative reference departments and through the part-time service of professors on various state commissions, be used to supplement the good will of honest legislators and to obstruct the anti-social will of dishonest legislators. But such service is sickeningly sporadic. We see it in full swing in one State, while fifty miles away across the state line a neighbor State allows the intellectual resources of its university to go to waste politically while the politics of its state capitol degenerate into a mere log-rolling between private interests.

In Mr. Frank's opinion the real hope lies in a decentralization of public affairs. By decentralization he means not from a big political to small political units, but a decentralization from politics back to the functional groups that are doing the work of the world.

If ballot-box democracy is, at heart, a sort of conspiracy against the leadership of its superior men, then the hope of democracies lies in the development through the right kind of education of unofficial statesmen who shall manage the businesses, the industries, and the professions of the nation with such socially minded vision and technic that we can afford to restrict political government more



MR. GLENN FRANK

(As this magazine was closed for the press Mr. Frank was offered the presidency of the University of Wisconsin by unanimous vote of the Regents)

and more to the policing of life while the real management of life goes on outside the halls of legislatures and cabinet rooms. Here, I think, is the real political function of our universities: the training of a race of unofficial statesmen we can trust to manage the life of society when society has passed out of the age of politics. But this will involve a more intimate relating of state universities to the life of the States. The statesmanship of our university presidents, in the future, must be expressed not so much in wire-pulling at state capitols as in the development of a more realistic and statesmanlike education that shall enhance and enrich the common life of the State as well as educate the individual students.

## Lord North, One of the "Founders" of the U.S.A.

IN a series of brilliant biographical sketches, now running in *Cornhill* (London), Philip Guedalla includes a penetrating study of the Right Honorable Lord North who was the upholder in the British Parliament of the policies of King George the Third in the period of the American Revolution. Beginning with a reference to the fact that the sites for statues of distinguished men are often unhappily chosen, this writer maintains the thesis

that a sense of obligation for his part in the founding of the United States should impel every American town to erect a statue of Lord North. Mr. Guedalla adds: "A modest pedestal might proclaim that, though not strictly a Son of Liberty, he was yet a Father of the Revolution."

After some years' service in Parliament, which he entered at the age of twenty-two, North's ability at length made him Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister.

This is the picture that Mr. Guedalla gives us of the King and his Premier in 1770:

They were an odd pair, the two young men with their smooth faces and protruding eyes. Friendship and official duty had united their fathers; but the sons, with a rarer unanimity, seemed to share a single profile. Both brows, both chins receded with a common design; and below the powdered regularity of dressed hair, each pair of eyes stared hard in the comic fierceness of weak sight. The King was thirty-two, and knew his mind. The minister was thirty-eight and, more judicious, knew his place. For, inclined to compliance by his natural good manners, North held a doctrine, which rendered his sovereign almost irresistible. Sharing Lord Chatham's queer *marotte* that party was less than country, he added yet stranger notion of his own that the country was personified in its King. For him the voice that spoke in jerks was England's; an embodied nation showered minute instructions upon him; and when his country issued its orders from the Queen's House at "2 min. pt. 5 P. M." and "57 min. pt. 11 A. M.," disobedience was almost treasonable.

Four years later, on a winter evening, the King discussed with North "the mode of compelling Boston to submit to whatever may be thought necessary."

General Gage had used heroic language at the palace about "lyons" and "lambs"; and his delighted sovereign, flown with these lively metaphors, presented Lord North with the American question.

The prospect was uninviting. Other problems might be solved by an application of common sense. North and his colleagues had shown a real capacity for imperial matters; the India Act and the Canadian settlement were just and intelligent. For, in both cases, they had been free to determine policy without regard to past errors or old commitments. But America, in 1774, had a long and awkward history. Almost every group in English politics was committed by some former action to opposing the Colonial claims. Mr. Grenville had taxed; the Whigs had repealed the tax but, with unhappy pedantry, reserved the right; Mr. Townshend had taxed again. North himself at the Exchequer maintained the tea duty; and as Prime Minister he "heartily wished to repeal the whole of the law, from this conciliating principle, if there had been a possibility of repealing it without giving up that just right which I shall ever wish the mother country to possess, the right of taxing the Americans." That dismal point of law, upon which he conceived "the controllung supremacy of England" to rest, was common ground in almost every quarter of the House. Whigs, King's Friends, and Tories were equally committed to it. No Ajax could have defied that collective lightning. Even Lord Chatham, by the intermittent glare of his suburban Sinai, had desired somehow to assert "the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies"; and Mr. Burke still praised the fatal pedantry of the Declaratory Act.

Boston was out against taxation; and North's problem in 1774 was to determine the direction of British policy. But he was hardly free to choose. For his main concern was to keep a majority for the King's government; and if he wavered upon taxa-

tion, he could not take ten members with him into the lobby. That factor was decisive. Nine years of tangled politics had created a permanent majority for American taxation; and North, whatever his opinions, could not defy it. The King, the Whigs, the Tories all dictated his decision; and, upon grounds within the comprehension of any party Whip, he settled the future of the Colonial Empire. So, with a failing heart, he resolved to break the will of Boston.

By the next year North was committed to a non-taxation policy, "ready to punish, but nevertheless, ready to forgive"; insisting only that the Americans should tax themselves. But the change in policy had come too late. The repression of Boston, says Mr. Guedalla, had done its work. "The shots at Lexington deepened, after eight weeks, into a steady roll of musketry on Bunker Hill; and North had unintentionally made the United States."

The conduct of the war itself North was quite willing to leave to soldiers. He himself had little taste for strategy. Moreover he had vague forebodings of the result of the war. In 1777 he could write that the news from Burgoyne is "very unpleasant and begins to make me feel rather uncomfortable." Even before the Battle of Saratoga he was half inclined to "take advantage of the flourishing state of our affairs to get out of this d—d war." Repeatedly, as the war dragged on, he tried to escape from office. "I entreated to be allowed to resign, but I was not allowed. I hate my situation." Indeed, says Mr. Guedalla, the emotion was not surprising.

Most men would have been broken by those years. Revolution in America, war with France, Spain, and Holland, a growing menace in Ireland, and a new war in India composed the picture. The soldiers failed; even the sailors were only intermittently successful. There was an alarming interlude, when for four days the town was mad for "No Popery" and Lord George Gordon. The sky was red over London with the dull glare of burning houses, and strange figures crouched and ran with blue cockades and broken railings carried at the trail like pikes. As the prospect darkened, even Parliament found its voice; and North's majorities began to dwindle. British defeats are the most sustaining nourishment of British oppositions; and the Whig murmur deepened in the gathering gloom. The pack was after him. It charged "the noble Lord in the blue ribbon" with incompetency, treachery, stupidity, even (on a day when he had lost a son) with corruption. But he struggled on, until the news of Yorktown came, and North took it "as he would have taken a ball in his breast, opening his arms and exclaiming wildly, 'O God! it is all over.'" Four months later he was out and subsided with a smile into private life, whilst Dr. Johnson grimly entered in his little book: "The Ministry is dissolved; I prayed with Francis and gave thanks." The Colonies were free; and North had earned his statue.

## Madame Novikoff, "M. P. for Russia"

THE recent death in London of Madame Olga Novikoff recalls the almost forgotten story of her years of service as a sort of unofficial ambassador from Russia to England. Beginning in the early seventies, her acquaintance with leading British statesmen and writers continued for several decades. Carlyle, Froude and Kinglake were numbered among her admirers, and Gladstone obtained from her ammunition which he used with skill in the period of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The *Manchester Guardian* has said that for thirty years Madame Novikoff was the chief link between Russia and England:

As authoress, pamphleteer, journalist, and, above all, as mistress of the salon in Regent's Park, to which the eminent men of her day in politics and in literature delighted to repair, her influence in shaping English views of Russia was paramount. She was, at the top of her bent, probably the most attractive advocate that Czardom has ever had in this country. The *Times* gave to her letters championing Russian imperial policy an unflinching publicity. Disraeli and Gladstone alike felt the charm of her personality.

It was the late W. T. Stead, of the London *Review of Reviews*, who wrote a biography of Madame Novikoff (1909) entitled "M. P. for Russia." In the final chapter of this book Mr. Stead wrote:

It is Madame Novikoff's peculiar and unique claim to the grateful recognition of two nations that more consistently than any other human being she maintained in both countries the cause of the Anglo-Russian *entente*. And that being the case, I am justified in claiming her right to be recognized as the real heroine of a great international *rapprochement*, the most outstanding figure of influence among all those who contributed to replace enmity by cooperation, to convert foes into friends.

The current of popular passion in England, as interpreted by the majority of its newspapers and expressed by its government, was repeatedly opposed by Madame Novikoff; and in every case the verdict of history has been given in favor of the cause which she defended.

Public opinion in Great Britain was powerfully influenced by her writings, and many Englishmen came to believe that in relation to "the unspeakable Turk" the interests of England and Russia were identical. In commenting upon her life and services the London *Times* says:

Mme. Novikoff's influence is not surprising. As a young woman she was strikingly handsome, and she retained even into old age her look of distinction and of race. Moreover, she had the advan-



MME. OLGA NOVIKOFF, 1840-1925

tages of birth, of wide knowledge of the world, and of an extraordinarily quick and lively intelligence. It is no wonder that her Liberal friends felt the cosmopolitan charm of her society with an added feeling of contact with great movements destined to become historic.

However, many Liberal Englishmen among her friends had misgivings when she publicly denounced the compromise embodied in the Treaty of Berlin as an ignominious betrayal of the great cause, and urged strongly that the glorious work of Slav emancipation should be completed—if necessary by war. They were alarmed when they saw that the realization of her ideals would lead to an enormous increase of Russian influence in the Balkan Peninsula, and even Mr. Gladstone came to recognize that Russia was "an inappropriate instrument for freeing Bulgaria." His friendly personal relations with Mme. Novikoff continued till his death, but he no longer shared her views and enthusiasm, and her own faith in British Liberals, conditioned solely on their foreign policy, steadily cooled down.

After that period of political excitement Mme. Novikoff spent regularly a portion of every year in England, and often intervened in current political discussions by publishing articles and letters in the English press. She was far advanced in years when the Great War broke out in 1914, and all her former hopes of Anglo-Russian friendship and of the final redemption of the Near East from "the unspeakable Turk" by the victorious sword of Russia and her Allies seemed at last to be nearing fulfilment. By this time she had settled permanently in London with one of her nieces, and her pen, which had lost little of its old vigor, was once more busy in the common cause. But the Russian Revolution and the appalling *débâcle* of all her ideals dealt her patriotism a wound which she could scarcely endure.

## Life and Death in the Chemist's Crucible

PERHAPS the most outstanding fact of our modern civilization is its dependence in almost all that concerns our daily needs upon the science of chemistry. In agriculture, in metallurgy, in a thousand industrial processes concerned in preparing or conserving the materials upon which the primal necessities of food, clothing, and shelter depend, the chemist is our right-hand man.

But even as the same mouth utters blessing or cursing, so do the elements of life or of death issue from the crucible of the chemist. This was brought home to us as never before in the Great War. There chemistry played a preponderant part in processes of destruction. The science of the chemist is indispensable in the preparation of explosives on the one hand and on the other of that new and dreadful weapon, invisible and death-dealing gas. No wonder that both among military experts and among laymen, the question of "chemical warfare"—especially with respect to future conflicts—is one of the burning questions of the hour. We have already acquainted our readers with Winston Churchill's views upon this subject. There comes to hand an important article by Charles Burky in a recent number of the *Revue de Genève* (Geneva). Discussing the same subject, and dwelling upon its darkly ominous aspects, M. Burky warns his compatriots that Switzerland, so proudly independent since she threw off the Austrian yoke, and consistently neutral amid all the bitter conflicts which have raged among her neighbors, will inevitably be drawn into any future European war of magnitude by virtue of the great chemical works at Basle. His résumé of chemical activities in Europe is of general interest—in America as well as in England and on the Continent.

A single German chemical works, Griesheim-Elektron, near Frankfort, represents a world of science. It was marked for attack by the Allied aviators during the war. Fourth in size among German chemical plants, its buildings cover an area of 22 hectares and its value was estimated during the war at 60,000,000 gold marks. It manufactures aniline dyes, all sorts of acids and alkalies with liquid chlorine, hydrogen and oxygen as by-products. Furthermore, it has unusual capacity for making synthetic nitrates and poison gas, explosives, and electrolytic hydrogen for Zeppelins.

But this immense plant is only one among Germany's creations. Others of importance are the *Badische Anilin* works, where no less than forty-five railroads converge, and the comparatively new *Leuna*, begun in 1915 and finished in 1921. Already *Leuna* produces from atmospheric nitrogen a million tons a year of ammonia. "These two plants alone burn more coal than all of Switzerland and Paris combined."

M. Burky stresses the fact that the chemical industry is an essential part of German economy in times of peace, as indicated by the large-scale manufactures of dyes, drugs, explosives, fertilizers, soaps, matches, photographic supplies, sulphuric acid, soda, chlorate of lime, calcium carbide, mineral pigments, and so forth. Apropos of this, he observes:

As a matter of justice, moreover, we have no right to suppress German chemical industry, while practically it is a necessity to the world as the great producer of nitrated fertilizers and of dye-stuffs. Just here the problem lies. If the world does not wish to find itself disarmed, its only recourse is to compete with Germany and thus break her monopoly.

This task is all the harder because of the German genius for organization—both "horizontal" and "vertical," of which the late Hugo Stinnes was the great exponent, though Burky does not mention him. In this effort to make a breach in German monopoly he tells us:

Great progress was made even during the war by France, England and America, and the non-German production of dye-stuffs rose from twenty-eight to eighty thousand tons per year. Since then similar efforts have been made all over Europe. In France by the erection of chemical works at Toulouse, remote from sudden attack from the north-east coast, in England by the creation of the "British Dye-Stuff Corporation" and the "Dye-Stuffs Import Regulation Act." All nations have followed suit—Italy as well as Czechoslovakia, Poland as well as Russia.

M. Burky finds, in short, the question of chemical development, as pregnant with potential mischief as that of national armaments.

Throughout the entire world, chemists are feverishly setting down formulas, combining elements, triumphing over matter. Each new step of progress increases the dreadful menace. From time to time some formidable explosion destroys hundreds or thousands of lives, wrecks property, opens new craters upon the globe. But plants are quickly re-

built and new experiments are shrouded in mystery. And so the march to death goes on.

As to Switzerland, there is an ever greater menace of conflagration. Its peril lies at Basle, the great center of Swiss chemical industry, where alone 15 per cent. of the dye-stuffs of the world are produced. Basle, remote from the center, is terribly at the mercy of a *coup de main* on the part of France or Germany—it would be impossible for Basle to

remain neutral in any future war. Switzerland would be fatally drawn into the conflict.

Our picture is somber—but of what avail to deceive ourselves? The truth is that the world is resting upon a volcano.

There is indeed one way of escape still open—the renunciation of the spirit of Hate. But, alas men no longer believe in Love—and above all they no longer dare call upon the name of God.

## Tagore's International University

**V**ISVA-BHARATI is the Hindu name for Tagore's International University at Shanti-niketan, Bolpur, Bengal, India. It was founded on December 22, 1921. It is to be a cultural meeting place between the East and the West. Quite unlike some of his illustrious countrymen, Tagore is not prepared to discard Western culture altogether. Tagore holds that

It is due to no external cause that the West has now occupied a principal place in the history of the modern world. She has gained that eminence because she has realized some great truth in her mind and has carried it out in action. . . . The East will not attain her own eminence by any physical and mental rejection of the West. . . . It is the problem of every country of the world to bring to pass the deeper reconciliation of East and West, so that humanity may become one.

It is with this idea that the Visva-Bharati is founded. Writes Mr. C. F. Andrew, an English ex-missionary, now a devotee of Tagore, in the *Indian Review*:

For more than twenty-four years of his life, the poet Rabindranath Tagore has carried on his educational work in Shanti-niketan, endeavoring to build up within the Asram, which his father, Mahatma Debendranath Tagore, had established, a school and university representing the highest Indian culture combined with the science and learning of the West. . . .

For some years past, Rabindranath Tagore's aim had been directed towards creating a university of a new kind where Indian thought might be studied as a whole in relation to the West, and a meeting place might be found for those in East and West alike, who had been drawn together in spirit, beyond the narrow range of nationalism, to search for the universal truth in man.

The objects of the Visva-Bharati as set forth in the constitution are:

To study the mind of man in its realization of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view.

To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity.

To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia.

To seek to realize in a common fellowship of study the meeting of East and West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.

The subjects of study include rural reconstruction, Western sciences, Sanskrit literature, Buddhist philosophy and history, Islamic, Zoroastrian and Jain culture, European literature and culture, Chinese and Japanese literature and culture, painting, drama, music, pageant, festivals, and so forth.

A few distinguished scholars from Europe have gone to teach at the Visva-Bharati. Among them are Professor M. Winteritz, of Prague University; Prof. Sylvain Levi and Professor Benoit, of the Sorbonne; Dr. Sten Konow, formerly professor of Sanskrit in the University of Christiania, Norway; Professor Geiger, of the University of Vienna. For a few years Mr. Elmherst, who was recently married to Mrs. Willard Straight, was in charge of the Village Reconstruction Department at Surul. He is now succeeded by Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, the distinguished economist and agriculturist, who was formerly a lecturer in economics at the New York University.

The soul of Tagore's Visva-Bharati is thus philosophically revealed in the pages of *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* by Bipin Chandra Pal, a conservative in politics, but very profound in things philosophical:

Ever since the birth of the nationalist movement in Bengal the ultimate ideal that inspired all our thoughts and utterances has been not a merely patriotic ideal in the narrow and popular European sense of the term. . . . Our ideal of patriotism has always been moved by visions of universal humanity, and this universal humanity is also the vision of Visva-Bharati. . . .

In fact, this Visva-Bharati movement cannot be understood unless we bear in mind that it is not a narrow movement, but a movement so quickened by the vision of that universal humanity which expresses itself, progressively seeks to realize itself, has been seeking to reveal itself, from the very

beginning of human life and human history, through human culture, through the thought and devotion, the will and the activity of man. . . .

There is an impression in certain quarters, at which I am surprised, that Visva-Bharati represents an anti-national movement, seeking to denationalize us; or in any case that it ignores the actualities of

our present national life. I do not find anything in the Memorandum of Association or records of the Visva-Bharati, to support this view. . . . To study the mind of man, and here "Man" with a capital "M" really stands for universal man, for we Hindus, recognize no caste or no color in the mind of Man.

## Prolonging Life

A QUERULOUS question not infrequently heard is, "Why has not science prolonged human life?" The answer is that it has. Man is still mortal, and the extreme limit of longevity is probably not different from what it was centuries ago, but the average human being of today lives much longer than his grandfather. According to Dr. Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, writing in the current number of *Hygeia* (Chicago), "eighteen years has been added to the life span of the average person in the United States since 1855." The average duration of life has increased in the interim from forty years to fifty-eight years. The life span of Americans is now twice that of the people of British India and of certain other backward races. Dr. Dublin says:

In the short stretch of two generations the newer medicine and its offspring, the public health movement, have become active factors in American life. Even in the brief period of a decade, from 1900 to 1910, four years was added to the average length of life, and the end is not yet in sight. There is every indication, indeed, that material gains will continue to be made as the program of life extension is more and more developed through the co-operation of the medical profession, the public and civic authorities.

Life extension and disease prevention go hand in hand. With every year that is added, the suffering

and misery that accompany illness are minimized. These added years are productive years and mean increased prosperity and well-being for the great mass of the people.

When the death of a young adult from typhoid is prevented by our present-day sanitary measures, thirty-five or forty years of productive work may be saved to the community. This means a saving of at least \$500 a year, not to mention the spiritual gains resulting from the maintenance of family ties.

The most significant single achievement has been the reduction of infant mortality. In the past, half the babies born did not attain their first birthday. In China, and even in some European countries during the period of the World War, if children were born in large numbers, they died almost as numerously. Here was a terrible waste of human life and a source of misery for the unfortunate parents. Today, on the other hand, only seven or eight per cent. of American babies fail to reach their first birthday.

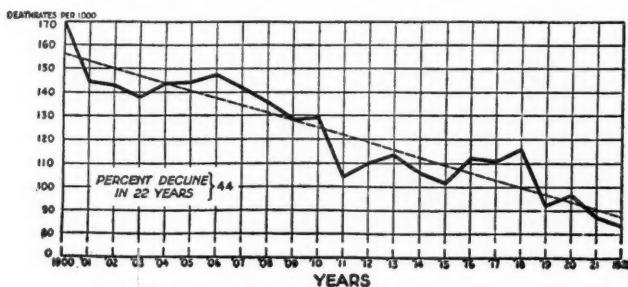
Dr. Dublin thinks it quite possible to reduce the infant mortality rate of the whole country to three per cent., which would mean the addition of another year and a half to the average life span.

The reduction of tuberculosis is another vivid illustration of the effectiveness of the public health campaign of the last three or four decades. This disease is now destroying life at a rate less than half that which prevailed in 1900, which effects a saving of 100,000 lives a year to the people of the United States. And equally significant, the deaths when they do occur are at a much higher average age. This means that when a father now dies of tuberculosis, he is usually not leaving a young wife and a few babies unable to take care of themselves, but rather a family with grown-up children.

Typhoid fever a scourge, in many of our communities twenty or more years ago, has been reduced to such minor importance that many sani-

### TWO DECADES OF PROGRESS IN INFANT LIFE SAVING

Deathrates per 1,000 infants under one year of age,  
United States Registration Area, 1900 to 1922



tarians look forward to its complete eradication in the near future.

The communicable diseases of childhood, including diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles and whooping cough, are rapidly coming under the control of the newer medical practice. The general application of the serum treatment, first developed for diphtheria, is speedily being extended to protect children against scarlet fever and possibly against the other children's diseases.

But, in the face of these remarkable medical achievements, there remain certain conditions against which medicine seems, to date, to have been powerless. These are the diseases of middle life—heart disease, the diseases of the kidney and of the blood vessels. They are usually comprehended, because of their interrelationship, under the general term of cardio-vascular-renal diseases. They are more often than not the effect of the wear and tear of tissue rather than the result of infection. They reflect the type of personal hygiene practiced by individuals.

The common breaking down of men and women at an age when they ought to be at

the height of their productive careers, "vigorous and forward-looking, rather than the subjects of incessant medical tinkering," is a situation which, says the writer, should be met first of all by the development of an extensive plan for detecting diseases that prey on persons of middle life before they can do the damage that results in premature old age and death. The most hopeful solution of the problem is the periodical routine medical examination.

Fortunately we can, even now, show that the periodic health examination reduces mortality. In 1914, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company inaugurated a system of free periodic health examinations for its Ordinary policy-holders. In 1920, the after-history of the first 6,000 persons examined was studied. According to prevailing mortality tables, 303 deaths should have occurred in this group; and yet only 217 actually took place. This means a reduction of 28 per cent. in the death rate.

## Motion Pictures as an Aid to the Athlete

NEW applications of moving pictures come to light every day. Whether the task is to teach scientific agriculture or demonstrate surgical technique, explain relativity or spread the sinister propaganda of Bolshevism, the "movies" always rise to the occasion. Writing in *Conquest* (London), Capt. F. A. M. Webster, a well-known English athlete and amateur athletic instructor, tells us how golfers, tennis players, skaters and the devotees of all branches of athletics are beginning to realize the value of the motion-picture film as a means of discovering their faults and analyzing the methods of more skilful performers.

Captain Webster pays a tribute to the enterprise of American athletic directors:

The Americans first learned all they could by word of mouth from foreign coaches, and the observation of the practical methods of foreign athletes. The time soon came, however, when American athletic directors realized that the eye of even the most expert athletic coach was not quick enough to envisage all the faults or finer points of perfection of athletes moving fast in action. That faults there were was proved by actual results, but the difficulty lay in the quickness of the champions, which prevented the coach from appreciating the niceties of style which enabled these men constantly to beat the previous best.

The services of expert photographers were enlisted, and the camera revealed many important facts, but "failed to portray the continuity of movement and the

synchronization of effort which makes up the perfect whole." Even the motion-picture camera failed to solve the problem until satisfactory methods were developed for slowing down the speed of projection while maintaining the correct relative speed of the different movements.

The new method of analysis is thus described:

It is the custom when an athlete shows promise which he subsequently fails to fulfil, to film him, after which both he and his trainer study the pictures which have been obtained, when his fault at once becomes apparent. In the same way when a new record is established of a magnitude which had hitherto seemed impossible, the filming of the new champion makes it possible to see what new point has been added to the technique in this particular event to bring about the improvement. It has indeed frequently happened that a man has broken a record without being able to say by what means he did so, but the cinematograph has never yet failed to reveal the secret.

In hurdling the camera has revealed the fact that pre-war generations of hurdlers, although they did the conventional straight-legged method to perfection, and only just skimmed the top-bar of the fence at each flight, were kept down to a 15-second limit for 120 yards over ten hurdles, each 3 feet 6 inches high and set up 10 yards apart, because they had not yet discovered a little point of technique which enabled the American, Simpson, to first beat "even time," and Earl Thompson, of Canada, to bring the record down subsequently to 14 2-5 seconds. This trick comprised the raising of the knee of the rear leg to shoulder level, to let the rear foot come quickly through in the exactly right position for the next stride forward.

## Russian Studies of the Effects of Starvation

THE recent famine in Russia inspired some of her scientists to make extensive studies of the results of prolonged under-nourishment upon the human body. The Russian physiologist Ivanovsky and his colleagues conducted observations for three years upon 2,114 persons, or as many of them as remained alive during that time. These persons were weighed once in six months, since obviously loss of weight is a symptom attendant upon long hunger. The results of the investigation are summarized in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart):

The loss of weight amounted to as much as 30 per cent. Naturally it is the fat which is first lost by the organism. Then the muscles become diminished in circumference and weight. Thirdly, the liver and the pancreatic gland become disturbed, the heart and the nervous system being but slightly affected in sympathy therewith. The bodily size of the starving people was nearly always smaller. The loss in size among men varied from 3.77 mm. to 6.50 mm.; in women from 3 to 5 mm. The loss was greatest among young persons, but these quickly recuperated as soon as they received a sufficient supply of food.

One curious observation made by the Russian investigators was to the effect that the form of the head underwent alteration. Since, however, the bones of the skull remain unaltered, this result is obviously due to a loss of size in the soft tissues covering the skull. The face lost more in breadth than in length and as a result of this the facial expression was considerably altered in many persons. The hair of the starving persons not only grew at a slower rate but frequently fell out or turned gray prematurely. The skin lost its flexibility, the body became bowed and the gait feeble and more uncertain.

There was a marked fall in the birth rate, with a greater frequency of premature birth and still-born children. Furthermore, there were numerous cases of deformity among new-born children. There were many cases of ulcerated stomachs among these unfortunate persons, who were often obliged to exist upon the most revolting sorts of food. In general the resistance of the body was so much diminished that simple boils or pimples on the hand, such as ordinarily are quickly healed, became really dangerous affairs.

## Poetry and Politics in Finland

SUOMI, land of the "Silver Birch" and the "Thousand Lakes," of quaint folklore and song, the country of flaxen-haired maidens and brawny swains, has only recently come into her own as a nation. For centuries the history of Finland was linked to that of other countries—Sweden and Russia—until, under the terms of the great post-war readjustment, the Finns were allowed finally to take their proper place among nations.

In a recent issue of the *Nordisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm), Werner Söderhjelm draws attention to the singular part that poetry has played in the national evolution of the country. While under the Swedish rule politically, the Finnish people were practically free to shape their own destiny; they had their own Diet, and very little, if anything, was done on the part of the Swedish Government to hinder or even influence the course of their national aspirations.

On the other hand, due to the centuries-old, almost constant state of warfare between Sweden and Russia, it had become the lot of Finland, because of her geograph-

ical situation, to serve as a buffer between the two hostile powers, thus invariably bearing the brunt of the invading Muscovite forces, and—in that case also—the Finns were often left very much to themselves. Therefore, when Finland was separated from Sweden, in 1809, and became a Russian Grand Duchy, the event was looked upon in many parts of the country as a deliverance at least from the many sufferings caused by the interminable wars, and the promise of Czar Alexander I., to give the Finns a constitution of their own, founded upon their old Swedish laws, contributed further to raise the hopes of the impoverished people.

Mr. Söderhjelm proceeds in his article to describe the patient waiting in Finland for the fulfilment of the Czar's promise, and the dire disappointment of the nation when confronted instead by Russian restrictions on free speech and thought. The press was subjected to severe censure, and Russian spies were ever present to report any untimely manifestation of public opinion at social gatherings or meetings.



FINLAND'S YEARLY CELEBRATION OF INDEPENDENCE AT HELSINGFORS  
(Soldiers gathered before the Senate House)

And right here is where poetry begins to play a leading part in the life of the nation. The illiterate masses of the old Czardom had been hopelessly beyond the intellectual reach of poetry, and it is easily understood, therefore, that the authorities in their endeavors to transform Finland into a mere Russian province would leave out of consideration a factor which later was to become, nevertheless, the most potent and the only bearer of the national spirit of the more highly educated Finns.

During the long years of weary waiting and of political persecution, when all other means of spiritual intercourse within the people were suppressed or strangled, the Finnish poetry alone kept alive and spread the flame of patriotism to a thousand homes, uniting the people in one common love for their country and its traditions. Where prominent political leaders were deported to Siberia, if not executed outright, the humble poets of the land went free, and the work they accomplished, although incomprehensible to the Russian mind, became all the more effective for appealing directly to the Finlander's innate and great love for poetry and song.

The beautiful epic poetry of Runeberg,

Cygnæus, Topelius, and many others, struck responsive chords in every Finnish heart, inspiring hope and imparting strength for continued resistance. Runeberg's works, in particular, were of inestimable value, and his *Vårt Land* ("Our Country") became the national anthem of Finland.

When the long-postponed promise of Czar Alexander I, in regard to the constitutional rights of the country, was fulfilled at last in 1863—after fifty-four years of waiting—and the Diet was summoned, this was due principally to the fact that the national spirit of the people had asserted itself to a point where the authorities deemed it expedient to yield to public opinion. The representatives in that first assembly were by no means those of a submissive, obedient people. On the contrary, able leaders had come to the front, and they carried their banners high.

Concluding his article, Mr. Söderhjelm remarks: "Our literature during the first half of the nineteenth century affected not only the general conceptions of the people; it had also a decisive and far-reaching influence upon the moral character and the spiritual strength of the entire nation, an influence which no other power could have exerted."

## Analogy between Primitive Mankind and Deaf-Mute Children

ORAL speech is one of the latest of human faculties to be acquired, and yet when once achieved it dominates and, to some extent, replaces the more primitive means by which mankind held intercourse—the arts of facial expression and pantomime. Now deaf-mute children are in much the same circumstance as the less sophisticated races of mankind. A remarkable analogy is drawn between the two by Mr. R. Lindner, an instructor of deaf-mutes. Writing in a recent number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart), he says:

Everyone is accustomed to the lively gestures which deaf-mutes employ; but not everyone remembers that in these we see a revival of mankind's original means of intercourse. The thoughtful observer knows, indeed, that every person must first traverse these lower steps of human communication before he arrives at oral speech, and that there is a short time in the life of every child when it listens comprehendingly to its mother, watching her with attentive eyes, while it is still able to express itself only in the language of signs. . . . But the deaf-mute child whose intelligence words do not penetrate constantly develops these signs into a more and more complete language.

The speech of gesture is a feature, too, of the infancy of races . . . there are some undeveloped races, indeed, whose members can hardly communicate with each other at all, or at any rate only with great difficulty, in the dark, so greatly is their verbal speech supplemented by signs.

Even in modern times we are reminded that gesture forms an important part of ceremonial usage, as in the shaking of hands, the lifting of the hand to take an oath, and so on.

He reminds us, too, that in ordinary conversation when the right word fails us, we instinctively make some explanatory gesture. In this connection he draws a striking parallel:

Indeed the same observation may be made in all lines of activity. Where the new things fail us we resort to the old. If the airplane won't fly, back to the railroad! If that won't work, back to the cart or to the beast of burden! The last refuge, the safest means of traffic, is the oldest of all, our own legs. And if even our legs give way under us down we go on all fours.

Similarly: the quickest and most convenient form of intercourse is by verbal speech. But the more it fails the more we turn to gesture to take its place. The sign language is helpful everywhere and understood all over the world. It is international.

Another interesting comparison is with

cave men. Dr. Lindner remarks that the jawbones of these early races lack the processes to which the muscles employed in articulation are fastened in modern jaws. Then, too, the astonishing skill and fidelity to nature of the rock drawings found in the caves offer strong evidence that the men of the glacial period were "eye-men," as are our deaf-mutes. In this connection he tells us that many deaf-mutes develop really amazing skill as draftsmen.

The large eye sockets and the supernormally developed back of the head in primitive men, together with the seat of the visual sense in the brain, plainly indicate that primitive man saw more than we and retained better the images recorded by his eyes. And the same process is repeated in every child. We know that almost every child passes through a period when he displays a keen zest in drawing.

Speaking of the delight children take in making pictures he says:

This zest for drawing slowly diminishes or even ceases at about the twelfth or thirteenth year, *i.e.*, at the time when the faculty of speech begins to be greatly developed. But among deaf-mutes this facility in draftsmanship continues to develop in a degree inversely corresponding to that in which the mind is overgrown, so to speak, with the flowers of speech. But the art of making pictures is not the oldest form of human art. The roots of dramatic action inevitably go still further back. When the primitive savage relates how he crept after his enemy—fell upon him—struck him down—triumphed over him—he portrays the scene with his whole body and soul . . . thus drama has its origin.

The writer comments here upon the noteworthy fact that the games indulged in by deaf-mute children differ from those of normal children. Instead of the ring-around rosy games of the latter and their games of hide-and-seek or chase-and-capture, the deaf-mutes act out stories invented and experienced by themselves. And in these self-invented plays one often finds a curious parallel with the fables of ancient folklore:

Miracles blossom before our eyes, the dead return to life, the child has the strength of a giant, the animal is gifted with human understanding.

In closing, he says finely:

When the crown of a tree is cut off fresh leaves and twigs sprout everywhere from its trunk. Tis-

sues which had slumbered beneath the bark and which under other circumstances would have formed wood, remember their ancient tasks. In the same manner primeval impulses break forth in the deaf-mute which in the rest of us are dormant and are developed at best only under abnormal conditions.

There is nothing peculiar about the deaf-mute, nothing sick nothing that we ourselves would not be, if placed under this condition. In us, too,

the primeval man still sleeps and is ready to germinate.

We are no longer ourselves. As Nietzsche says in "Beyond Good and Evil," learning has altered us. But deep "down below" . . . are the granite rocks of our primeval condition, and in the deaf-mute these thrust themselves forth with all their slopes and corners, their precipices and their peaks, their dark abysses and their volcanoes.

## Copper in the Dutch East Indies

OF THE chain of islands, which stretches from the east coast of Java, Dutch East Indies, to Dutch New Guinea, Timor is the largest.

The Portuguese settled there about 1520. In 1613 the Dutch took possession, but finally an arrangement was made which left the northern part to Portugal, while the southern half fell to Holland.

Although the island produces gold, the scattered deposits of the yellow mineral do not justify mining operations on any large scale, and it was thought better policy to leave the gold industry in the hands of the natives, as sooner or later it finds its way to the coast. The "radjas" (native chiefs) usually pay their taxes with gold dust.

For some years official reports have favored copper exploration, although attempts in the past met with little success.

However, at last the *Javasche Courant* has announced the rules for the submission of bids from all those who are interested in copper-mining. The Dutch East Indian Government Department of Mines is preparing a list of specifications to cover the necessary proceedings, while the result of years of careful, official investigation is placed at the disposal of prospective mining operators in the form of Government publications.

The Dutch periodical *Vragen des Tijds*, in its March issue, contains an article on the subject. The writer, Mr. S. Kalff, describes the island as abundantly rich in copper-quartz. The many layers of chalk and sandstone with sub-strata of red and green clay, which indicate the presence of large quantities of copper formation, run from the coastal regions far into the interior. The rivers, after forcing their way through the soft clay, become the carriers of the quartz. The serpentine hills in some landscapes are impregnated with copper, while elsewhere the chalkstone and the chalk-containing sandstone are permeated by

veins of quartz, colored a vivid green by copper salts. In the rich Fialarang district the quartz-containing clay is stained with red and green colors, at times interspersed with limestone chalk or permeable chalk. In the latter are found lumps of malachite and copper-azures of three centimeters in diameter, the inner part consisting of red copper-quartz and pieces of solid copper. Some of those pieces weigh as much as seventy pounds and are superior to the Japanese copper, as they lend themselves better to a mixture with gold. An official report names 85 per cent. pure metal apart from the lumps of copper.

In 1865 a Mr. Crawford, after studying the mines in Australia, established the presence of rich and extensive strata of copper on Timor. In canyons and mountain clefts he came across veins of from sixty to eighty feet wide at a distance of not more than six miles from the coast, where he located safe anchorages at Atapoepoe and in the Bay of Katimon, while the neighboring valleys could supply abundant bamboo and heavier wood for construction plant and mining-tunnels. He also found good drinking water, while the climate was far from unfavorable. Near the surface the quartz yielded 4 per cent., at a lower level 15 per cent., or about 12 per cent. on the average, according to the accompanying mining engineer. But further attempts were abandoned through lack of capital. (The tin industry of the island of Billiton, which now pours forth millions, had the same initial difficulty to confront.)

The writer appears to favor the view that the new mines will rival those of Australia, whose output is now valued at \$3,000,000 a year and at times has been thrice that.

According to a former explorer—who died of coastal fever while on an exploring expedition, but whose report was saved—there exists a belt of rich copper mines in the center of the island.

## The Year without a Summer

NO OTHER year is so famous in the annals of weather as 1816—the “year without a summer.” The subject has been staple in the miscellany columns of magazines and newspapers for generations. One of the chronic jobs of the Weather Bureau is answering inquiries about this celebrated year. The topic was unusually prominent last autumn when an unofficial “long-range” weather forecaster declared that the world was in for a protracted cold spell, scheduled to begin last winter and extend through the coming summer. This prediction (with which, of course, the Weather Bureau had nothing to do) has thus far proved a dismal failure, as the winter was milder than usual in both this country and Europe.

Strange to say, there has been little critical investigation of the weather records for the year 1816 on the part of meteorologists. One of the first serious attempts to ascertain the facts on this subject is that recently made by Prof. Willis I. Milham, of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., who reported the results of his inquiry in his presidential address at the last meeting of the American Meteorological Society. The address has just appeared in the *Monthly Weather Review*. Concerning the fame of the “year without a summer,” Professor Milham says:

All the older books on meteorology, climate, or weather have much to say about it. Take as an example Blodget’s *Climatology of the United States* published in Philadelphia in 1857. Data concerning the year are found in many tables and there are many references to it. On pages 147 and 148 there are these comments: “But during this period the most remarkable depressions of temperature in the summer months known to all history of thermometer measurements occurred in the period from 1811 to 1817. Of these, 1812 and 1816 were the coldest. In the Northern States snows and frosts occurred in every month of both summers; Indian corn did not ripen, fruits and grains of every sort were greatly reduced in quantity, or wholly cut off. . . . In England 1816 was almost as extreme as in the United States.”

Most of the biographies and histories (particularly State and local histories) covering this period also have something to say about this year 1816. Take for example Chauncey Jerome’s “History of the American Clock Business for the Past Sixty Years” and “Life of Chauncey Jerome.” This was written in 1860 when Jerome was 67 years old. He was thus 23 years old in 1816. On pages 31 and 32 he has something to say about the famous year. He was then living in Plymouth, Conn.

“The next summer was the cold one of 1816, which none of the old people will ever forget, and

which many of the young have heard a great deal about. There was ice and snow in every month in the year. I well remember the 7th of June, while on my way to work, about a mile from home, dressed throughout with thick woolen clothes and an overcoat on, my hands got so cold that I was obliged to lay down my tools and put on a pair of mittens which I had in my pocket. It snowed about an hour that day. On the 10th of June, my wife brought in some clothes that had been spread on the ground the night before, which were frozen stiff as in winter. On the 4th of July I saw several men pitching quoits in the middle of the day with thick overcoats on, and the sun shining bright at the time. . . . Not half enough corn ripened that year to furnish seed for the next.”

Jerome is usually quite accurate in his statements and free from exaggeration so this can probably be taken at almost face value although written from memory 44 years after the event.

Thompson, in his “History of Vermont,” says: “It is universally conceded that the year 1816 was the coldest ever known in Vermont.”

There are also many casual references to this year in the periodical literature all the way from 1816 to date. In fact references seem to be more frequent during the last few years. If any month is at all cold, the year 1816 is at once recalled as the awful example.

Regular weather records were kept at few places in this country in 1816. According to Professor Milham, the number of such places was probably less than ten. One of the few was Williamstown, Mass., where a record, begun January 1, 1816, has been continued to the present day. The temperature was observed three times a day; viz., at 7 am., 2 p.m. and 9 p.m. No minimum thermometer was in use, so that the lowest temperature on any day can only be inferred from the readings at the regular hours of observation. Williamstown is well located for a critical study of the year 1816, as it is inland and therefore subject to extremes of temperature, while it is also centrally located with respect to the northeastern part of the United States. Professor Milham’s study of the record at this place brings out, first of all, the fact that the year as a whole was only a little colder than the average, and that many years have actually been colder than 1816.

The summer months were all much colder than the normal, but included some periods of exceptional warmth. The salient feature of the summer, and the one that made a lasting impression on people’s minds, was the occurrence during each of the months of June, July and August of one extraordinarily cold spell. Snow fell during

the cold spell in June. The others were attended by frosts. Contemporary weather records at Salem, Cambridge, New Bedford and New Haven indicate that departures from normal temperature were about the same throughout the Northeastern States. Hence the year was not one without a summer, but one in which the summer included some brief periods of wintry weather.

Professor Milham reviews the various hypotheses that have been adduced to explain this and other periods of widespread abnormal temperature—some of which emphasize the effects of volcanic dust in the atmosphere, while others assume changes in the composition of the atmosphere, in the activity of the sun, etc.—but he refrains from pronouncing in favor of any of them or offering an addition to the list.

## The World's Merchant Marine

**I**N THE *Journal de la Marine* (Paris), G. de Raulin, the nautical expert, discusses the existing condition of the world's merchant tonnage. It will surprise a good many, perhaps, to learn that with all the depression and dark days of the past five years, every nation in the world, with the exception of Germany and Greece, can now boast a better merchant navy than it possessed before the war. Even Germany is ahead of other nations in one respect, namely, that its present merchant fleet possesses all the virility that belongs to youth.

Although Britain is still at the head of the list, her percentage in positive tonnage has decreased from 44.5 per cent. to 33 per cent. Germany's place, which was second before the war, is now taken by the United States, which claims 22.5 per cent. of the world-total. Japan holds third place; Norway, the fourth; and Germany, the fifth.

The United States has shown the greatest increase in new tonnage. Japan comes next; then France, Italy and Holland in the order named. M. de Raulin says:

It has been declared by many experts that the tonnage of the world is actually in excess of its real

needs. Against this statement may be put the assertion that but for the existing high tariffs, all the vessels at present afloat could find ample cargoes to carry. Nevertheless, with all this grandiose increase in ships, there remains a big shortage over pre-war tonnage. That shortage amounts to 1,000,000 tons, or twenty ships as big as the *Olympic*. Of this shortage, the United States bears an onus to the extent of 750,000 tons, this being due to her swift elimination, after Armistice, of most of all her older, and all her unseaworthy, vessels. The wooden ships were sacrificed without remorse.

M. de Raulin goes on to show how the old sailing ships have disappeared within the past quarter of a century—since 1900. His statement shows that since 1914, over one million and a half of "sailing" tonnage has vanished from the waters. In 1912 the "sailers" represented 22 per cent. of the merchant craft. In 1916, they still represented 8 per cent. To-day they represent 4 per cent. Of these sailing vessels, in their brave days, 47½ per cent. flew the United States flag.

An Italian editor, Signor Albini, writing in his own paper, *La Marina Italiana* (Genoa), gives a list of the launchings in 1924. He distributes them as follows:

Country	Steamers	Tonnage	Motor-ships	Tonnage	Fast Craft	Tonnage	Ferries
France	20	77,828	..	..	6	1,857	26
Germany	78	77,870	28	96,541	2	1,102	108
Japan	23	56,641	8	16,116	..	..	31
Britain	411	1,097,363	48	228,117	21	7,211	494
Italy	10	52,139	6	28,708	2	979	19
Norway	32	24,104	2	975	..	..	34
Holland	33	48,586	8	15,041	..	..	41
Spain	2	3,859	..	..	..	..	..
United States	9	35,789	20	21,830	42	32,776	79
Sweden	4	4,283	7	26,804	1	1,24	12

Signor Albini also shows the fluctuations in ship construction between 1920 and 1924 in the following statistics of annual tonnage:

For the years 1920, 56,861,666; 1921, 4,341,679; 1922, 2,467,084; 1923, 1,643,181; 1924, 2,247,751.

## The Psychology of Scientific Inspiration

WHEN Archimedes leaped naked from his bath and rushed through the streets of Syracuse shouting "Eureka! Eureka!" he was exalted by the intellectual delight of the sudden perception of a new idea. Prince Kropotkin expressed this when he remarked that human life offers few joys comparable to that afforded by the sudden perception of a general concept after a long period of patient research.

Mankind has always been deeply awed by such sudden flashes of spiritual illumination. Whether they come as religious revelation, poetic ecstasy, or scientific inspiration, they hold us spell-bound with the sense of their mystic origin. But where the ancients accepted such things as supernal gifts from on high, modern psychology attempts to explain their origin, or at any rate the *modus operandi* of their appearance. Prof. J. H. Leuba of Bryn Mawr College contributes an admirable article upon this theme to the *Revue Bleue* (Paris). He holds the agreeable theory that such flashes of illumination to great men differ only in degree from those that come to all of us.

Three methods present themselves to-day to explain the phenomena of inspiration or of revelation. The first looks upon "God" as their cause—which is, to be sure, not an explanation, but simply a displacement of the problem. The second refers them . . . to subconscious processes. Or again these two explanations are combined—it is conceived that God makes use of the subconscious to inspire revelations in the human mind. This is a combined explanation which rejoices the hearts of those who like to preserve the solutions of former days, while retaining the satisfaction of feeling themselves quite up-to-date, but which has the defect of being open to the objections which lie against both the combined hypotheses. From a scientific point of view the second hypothesis is by no means superior to the first—both appeal to the unknown.

A careful study of the known cases of scientific inspiration, Professor Leuba tells us, reveals certain laws which seem to govern them. *They never appear except after a period of conscious effort*—in other words, they continue a process already begun. Furthermore, when the solution is complex it does not present itself in elaborate detail. The key is forged, indeed, but it must be put to use.

Such revelations are rare, and what is even more important, discoveries of equal significance are made in a more ordinary way—*i. e.*—merely by sustained effort. . . .

Analogous observations apply to mystical inspirations. The revelations, monitory or otherwise, which came to Christian mystics, were always upon subjects which had long occupied their thoughts.

But thought is never a continuous process, we are told. In a fine simile Professor Leuba compares it to a flame which is dimmed and seemingly extinguished when blown upon, but which leaps to life once more when undisturbed. Thought is comparable to a moving picture, where the continuity seems uninterrupted, but which is really made up of a series of consecutive images.

The problem of inspiration, or illumination, or revelation—call it what you will—does not apply to rare and remarkable cases alone. The features which are commonly regarded as marking the difference between revelation and the ordinary and natural products of the mental activity of man, appertain in truth to all thought and all action.

The qualities of being unforeseen, of absence of effort, of passivity (and also of clarity and certitude), are equally characteristic of the large and of the small, of the true and of the false, of religious matters and of lay matters. . . . The singular and surprising examples of the sudden appearance of the solution of a problem, after an apparently unfruitful effort of the mind, are merely extreme examples of the conscious and rational process of thought. It is simply that in these striking cases the problems are big enough and the passive period long enough to arrest the attention and provoke surprise.

To explain why the mind appears to function better and blossom into brilliant discoveries when periods of effort alternate with periods of repose, Professor Leuba takes as an illustration the acquirement of mechanical skill, as in learning to type. In first attempting to use a typewriter, a number of false movements are inevitably made, and if practice be too long continued, progress ceases, the tendency being to form a habit of such mistakes; a period of rest helps the mind to consolidate the correct motions, which doubtless preponderate, and shake off the influence of the mistakes. In this connection the author quotes the experiments of the American psychologist, W. F. Bok. In the same way, the thought process comprises false conclusions, which fade and allow the correct ones to resume their sway during a period of mental repose.

In conclusion, we will merely repeat that so far as special problems of a scientific nature are concerned, the indispensable condition of their solution by "inspiration" resides in a previous general preparation . . . coupled with direct mental application.

## A pre-Columbian City in Nevada

BRIEF press dispatches published last October and subsequently announced the discovery in southern Nevada—a region heretofore supposed to be outside the area of Pueblo culture—of some very extensive Pueblo ruins, apparently of high antiquity. In contrast to the remains of mere villages, such as the famous Pueblo Bonito, the Nevada site appears to have been a large city—a Pueblo metropolis. At the invitation of the Governor of Nevada, an archaeological expedition from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, has been exploring the ruins since last November. The undertaking is a vast one, and only a beginning has been made. Up to January of this year four of the old houses had been laid bare, including one separate circular edifice, which was probably a *kiva*, or ceremonial chamber, similar to those found generally on Pueblo sites. The discoveries also included fifteen tombs containing human skeletons, together with a considerable collection of pottery, stone implements and other artifacts of the ancient people. An account of the ruins and the work of excavation is contributed to the current

*Union Pacific Magazine* (Omaha) by Mr. M. R. Harrington, the leader of the expedition. Of the prehistoric people he writes:

Far back in the dim past, as the average man counts time, the Moapa Valley in southeastern Nevada supported a numerous population, probably many times more than the present tourist finds in the little villages and the scattered ranches of to-day. In that far-off time there were various small settlements and isolated houses along the Muddy River and in the near-by Valley of the Virgin, but most of the people lived in a great town, which was doubtless the largest city of its day in what is now the State of Nevada. This metropolis lay scattered along the Muddy River on the east side of the valley for a distance of five or six miles, from a point opposite the present village of St. Thomas up to the vicinity of Overton. On account of its large size this ancient settlement has been officially named "Pueblo Grande de Nevada," but the name "Lost City of Nevada" seems to have taken quite a hold on the popular imagination.

The houses are found both in the valley, where they are buried more or less in sand dunes, and on the summits of series of low ridges to the east, between the lowlands and the foot of Mormon Mesa. Some seem to have consisted of one or two rooms only, but others had many rooms, eight, ten or even more.

An interesting feature of some of these buildings has been that many have evidently been rebuilt on the same ground two or three times, which is shown by floors at different levels, one beneath the other, and by buried walls outlining a building different in ground plan from that enclosed by another set of walls nearer to the surface.

The excavations have already revealed a great deal concerning the life of the ancient people. They were farmers, says Mr. Harrington, for corn and corn-cobs, together with squash seeds and beans, all preserved by charring, are often found in the rooms and sometimes in the graves.

That they hunted for their meat is shown by the bones of various food-animals, such as rabbits, deer and mountain sheep, and by the presence of arrowpoints made of many-colored flint.

That they wove blankets, some of fine texture and color, is seen from crumbling shreds of textiles wrapped about the skeletons; others' blankets were woven of strips of fur twisted and woven together; one skeleton showed traces of woven sandals, and a few pieces of coiled baskets have appeared which could be preserved only by pouring hot paraffin over them.



UNCOVERING A BURIED CITY IN SOUTHEASTERN NEVADA

The artistic sense of these ancient Nevadans is best seen in their pottery. Much of it is plain, as might be expected, but the sort known as corrugated often shows tasteful patterns impressed into the clay while soft. There are two main kinds of painted ware, the black and white variety being the more numerous. Most of this class of vessels are bowls, with the design done in black on a white ground on the inside, in bold but pleasing patterns. The other sort of painted ware shows the black patterns on a rich red ground, and of this kind we found a beautiful vase provided with a pitcher-like handle.

Who were the inhabitants of Pueblo Grande? The corrugated and the painted pottery alone would be enough to identify them as ancient Pueblo Indians; but when you add their house-building, their agriculture, their use of turquoise, and even such homely things as their stone griddles such as modern Pueblos use for cooking their famous wafer-bread, there can be no room for further doubt. They were probably the ancestors of one of the modern Pueblo tribes, but of which tribe we cannot tell as yet. Perhaps further research and comparison of pottery and the like, after the field work is done, will enlighten us on this point.

Just how long ago was Pueblo Grande de Nevada

occupied? That is another question we cannot answer satisfactorily yet except that it was probably in excess of two thousand years. The character of the pottery seems to indicate an early date; and so would the simplicity of the houses as compared with the great three- or four-story communal dwelling seen in some other Pueblo districts where practically a whole town was housed in a single large building. Certain it is that in all our work so far, we have not found a single article made by the whites, and this would indicate that the place is prehistoric at least. It was certainly occupied long before the time of Spanish exploration and trade, and consequently before the time of written European history.

Certain it is also that a great deal of erosion has taken place since the Pueblo was abandoned, and this means a long time in a desert country. One of the ridges must have been fully eight or ten feet wider than it is now, for a great part of one long house has been washed down into a canyon with the very ground it stood on, leaving only the ends of a long row of rooms on the ridge.

That the Pueblo was occupied for many years, perhaps centuries, is shown by the deep beds of ashes, the countless fragments of pottery and flint, the houses remodeled again and again.

## Pan-Islamism, Pan-Arabism and the Iberian Position

THE first voyage of Columbus to America in 1492 was financed, as may be recalled, by Isabella of Castile as a thank offering for the victory of the arms of Castile and Aragon over the Moors, when the last remnant of Islam's power in Spain, the Kingdom of Granada, was finally destroyed. A large number of Moslems, however, both of Arabic and Moorish blood, manifested a willingness to abandon their faith and accept Christianity for the sake of being allowed to stay in Spain. These were given the appellation of Moriscos.

But their lot even after conversion was not a pleasant one, and they received the most careful scrutiny of the Inquisition. They were finally driven from the peninsula between the years 1568 and 1609 as a result of a revolt occasioned by the extreme cruelty of Don Juan of Austria and Kings Philip II and III. But the census of 1910 recorded 60,000 Moriscos still living in the country. It is by reason of this element and its ancestors that Señor R. Gil Torre, writing in *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) for March, attempts to demonstrate the partially Oriental character of his own race and its ability to understand the Islam of today—once more astir after so many centuries of quiescence.

In attempting to define the significance of a resurgent East, he says:

... The true character of Islamic ideology has been exaggerated and deformed, representing the Moslem world as an enigmatic freemasonry of retrograde fanatics, always thinking of the holy war, and there has been dispersed to all the winds the phantom of Pan-Islamism. Nothing farther from reality. To speak of political Pan-Islamism, of Pan-Christianism or of Pan-Confucianism, is eminently ridiculous. The territories dominated by the Mahometan religion include races as diverse as the Turkish and the Arab; the Iberic and the Slav; the Chinese and the Albanians; the Sudanese and the Malayans. It is laughable to think that the Moslems of Peking, Java or the Transvaal can interest themselves in the triumph or the destruction of the Riffian tribes. If Adb-el-Krim has friends in Turkey, Argelia and the Levant, Spain also has many and good friends in Islam, and nobody will commit the injustice of doubting the good-will of the Moslems of Hispano-America and the Philippines and of the brave regular troops who so gallantly give their blood for Spain.

Señor Torre points out that although Mahometanism covers so much territory and includes so many different races, the civilization of the Orient is inherited from the most ancient human cultures. It is chiefly among old races that those small regional differences and psychic antipathies are most prominent which prevent a permanent and firm political union. He sees no

danger of political coalescence among Oriental races but rather a cultural and intellectual renaissance in which Spain may have a part.

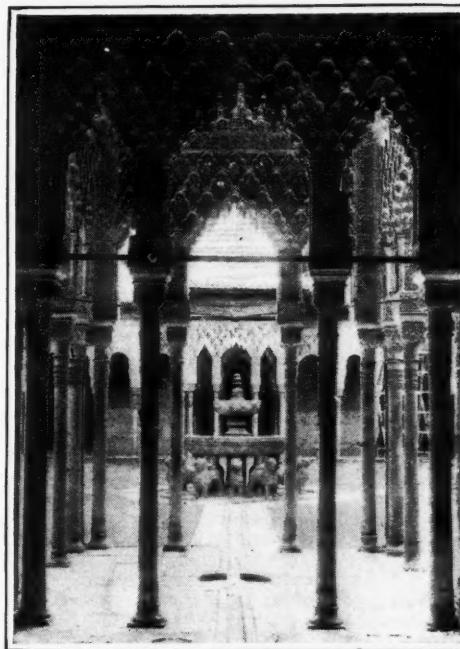
Spain, land of an ancient culture, which has had so many obstacles placed in the path of self-realization; victim of so many invasions, and suffering in America the spiritual oppression of her enemies, the imperialists of the North, is also somewhat of the East and no one is in a better condition to understand Islam.

There is, indeed, a great solidarity in the Orient, a solidarity which corresponds to an enthusiastic romanticism, more than to a true fanaticism. Its force comes from the extreme simplicity of its religious forms and of its perfect adaptation to the idealistic-practical spirit of the oriental, gaining the affection of the masses through its democratic character of a lay religion; and it is a neutral field where Semites and Turanians, Libio-Iberians and Persians, find those general principles which rule the life of Oriental societies. It creates a bond of union between all the Levantine races, through the equality of the law and the peregrination to Mecca; reinforcing at the same time the local particularisms and being the most firm support of patriotism.

The subversion of the innate democracy of Islam is attributed to the ascendancy of the Turks in the Eleventh Century, their usurpation of the Caliphate, and the consequent partial destruction and deterioration of the admirable and highly-developed Arabic culture. (The influence of this culture was felt no less in Spain than in Bagdad, as evidenced by the architecture of Andalusia, the Alhambra Palace and several Spanish cathedrals.) But the Turkish control of the Caliphate ended as a result of the downfall of Turkey, Pan-Arabism came again to the fore, with the friendly support and coöperation of many Christian sects.

Señor Torre advocates the perpetuation of this friendly feeling between the two religions through the establishment in Spain of a center of oriental studies and also a governmental bureau to direct the movement of approximation. In his opinion, the development of a strong Arabic political and cultural center would offset the Turco-Bolshevist menace to Europe. He indicates also the benefits which would be brought to both Spanish and Arabic peoples in North Africa through mutual coöperation, making, however, a distinction between the Arabs and the Berbers, Spain's principal enemies. In conclusion he says:

The reborn Arabian land, center of the entire



COURT OF THE LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA

(This fortified palace of the Kings of Granada is considered the best example of Moorish art in Spain)

Orient, influences more each day all Islam through the peregrination to Mecca, through the flood of students from all the Moslem world toward its universities and through the economic experience acquired by its emigrants. Spread across this Orient are: Persia, with an art resembling ours; India, whose new political and social doctrines are beginning to exercise a great influence in all Asia and in Oriental Africa; and farther away are the Philippines, which in their southern part contain many thousands of Moslems whose mother tongue is Spanish.

Furthermore, the day in which the natural riches of the East are exploited systematically by the natives, will witness the destruction of European commerce in large part, given the cheap manual labor and the infinite economic possibilities which India and the Sudan still possess. And it is necessary that Spain be able to reap the proper benefits of this rebirth in order not to see herself beaten in all commercial ventures, to exploit rationally the fruits, the vegetables and the oil of the Moorish countries, Syria, Libia and Mesopotamia. . . .

The somewhat novel suggestion is offered in the last paragraph that the "adepts of Biblical religions" ought to unite fraternally "to defend those spiritual values, so menaced in these times of futurism and social disintegration."

# THE NEW BOOKS

## Travel and Observation in Many Lands

**The Adventure of Wrangel Island.** Written by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. With the Collaboration of John Irvine Knight. Macmillan. 424 pp. With map and other illustrations.

Mr. Stefansson's account of the Wrangel Island expedition is a pointed reminder that the days of thrilling adventure are not altogether of the remote past, for this stirring tale is a narrative of things that have happened in our time, as recently as 1922-23. Like all of Mr. Stefansson's writings, this book is a distinct contribution to geographical knowledge. Some parts of the narrative might indeed seem to run counter to Mr. Stefansson's own well-known theory of a "friendly Arctic." But in telling the story he does not permit pre-possessions to interfere in any way with the full revelation of the truth.

**Handbook of Alaska: Its Resources, Products, and Attractions in 1924.** By Maj.-Gen. A. W. Greely, U.S.A. Charles Scribner's Sons. 330 pp. Ill.

A new edition of General Greely's "Alaska," practically re-written, pictures that territory as it is to-day. The book is authoritative in every respect, giving a comprehensive survey of the geographical, commercial, social, industrial and political conditions of Alaska. So great have been the changes in recent years that almost two-thirds of the book is new material. General Greely himself has been an eye-witness of the wonderful advance which the territory has made. He was twice in military command of Alaska, and a large part of the telegraph system was built under his supervision. A valuable feature of the volume is the illustration, which consists mainly of reproductions of photographs made by the various bureaus of our national government.

**The Isles of Fear: the Truth About the Philippines.** By Katherine Mayo. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 372 pp. Ill.

The type of American writings on the Philippines which appeared twenty-five years ago has served its day. There was need at that time of encyclopedic books about the archipelago to describe for American readers the physical features and products of the islands, their population and commercial possibilities. There is now demanded an account of the social and political conditions under which the people have been living since the United States became responsible for their welfare. This demand has been largely met by Miss Katherine Mayo in her book entitled "The Isles of Fear." The story is full of human interest. In the Philippines, as in every other land under the sun, humanity is suffering varied forms of injustice. Miss Mayo describes some of these vividly, picturing for the American

reader conditions about which little has heretofore been made public. It is all information which the intelligent American citizen should have, and it has a direct bearing on the question of Philippine independence and the American administration of the islands. All that Miss Mayo learned from her researches as a volunteer investigator tended to show that the Philippines are not yet ready for independence and that the kind of government which General Wood is giving to the islands is of the sort best fitted to prepare them for intelligent self-government in the future.

**The Political Awakening of the East: Studies of Political Progress in Egypt, India, China, Japan, and the Philippines.** By George Matthew Dutcher. The Abingdon Press. 372 pp.

Because of his special interest in the growth and influence of Western political ideas in the East, Professor Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, spent a Sabbatical year in visiting Japan, China, the Philippines, India and other parts of the Orient. The information that he gained on that journey forms the basis of lectures later delivered at the University and now incorporated in this book. As to the Philippines, Professor Dutcher finds that "it is to the credit of both nations that the highest attainment in the matter of self-government by any Eastern people has been achieved by the Filipinos under American guidance."

**Trails and Summits of the White Mountains.** By Walter Collins O'Kane. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 308 pp. With maps and illustrations.

This is distinctly a book for the mountain-climber, whether experienced or prospective. The beginner may get from it the information necessary for his comfort and pleasure. One who attempts mountain-climbing elsewhere than in the White Mountain region may get from this little manual many helpful suggestions. Mr. O'Kane describes nineteen separate climbs, each of which may be accomplished within a day or less. Mount Washington is the natural objective of most climbers and to this peak more space is devoted than to either of the others, but interesting facts are brought out concerning all of them.

**The Man From an African Jungle.** By W. C. Wilcox. Macmillan. 248 pp.

The intensely human story of an explorer-missionary in Africa—probably unlike any narrative of African missions that you ever read.

The author represented the American Board in its East Central African Mission at Inhambane in 1883. The missionaries were cordially welcomed by the late Cecil Rhodes.

## Biography and History

**Washington Irving, Esquire.** By George S. Hellman. Alfred A. Knopf. 354 pp.

Washington Irving, better known to Europe than any other American writer in his lifetime, has had many biographers. The "Life and Letters," edited by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, appeared in 1862, three years after his death. Briefer works, published since that time, have nearly all followed the lines of this authorized biography. Mr. Hellman makes a departure from the beaten track. He presents Irving to the present generation as "Ambassador at Large from the New World to the Old," and he does succeed in showing that our most distinguished author in the first half of the Nineteenth Century was by no means lacking in those qualities which go to make a successful diplomatist. His official dispatches as United States Minister to Spain are more illuminating than most documents of the kind which repose in the Government archives. Moreover, Irving had a keen American sense of politics, as his letters to Martin Van Buren disclose. But Mr. Hellman's chief service in this book consists in his exploitation of materials heretofore unpublished from which he has constructed an Irving who has a genuine human appeal even to the reader of to-day.

**Edward Everett: Orator and Statesman.** By Paul Revere Frothingham. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 495 pp. Ill.

Sixty years ago, when Edward Everett died, he was one of the best-known among American public men. Member of Congress, Governor of Massachusetts, Minister to England, United States Senator, president of Harvard, and editor of the *North American Review*, he had achieved in his three-score years and ten a more varied and brilliant career than almost any of his contemporaries. As an orator of the school of Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips, he had won a national reputation. For years he was looked upon as the logical successor of Daniel Webster. When the Civil War came on he broke with some of his old-time political associates and became an ardent supporter of the Lincoln Administration. After Lincoln's second election in 1864 Everett served as Presidential Elector, and the casting of his vote for the war President was his last official act. Mr. Everett's sons never fulfilled their promise to prepare a biography of their father. The private papers, letters and journal of Edward Everett have always remained in the hands of the family, and the present work by the Reverend Paul Revere Frothingham is the first and, as the publishers announce it, definitive life of a statesman and orator who, it would seem, has merited earlier attention at the hands of the biographer. Mr. Frothingham, however, through his intelligent interest in his subject, has gone far to atone for past neglect. His book abounds in apt selections from letters and journals containing frequent references to Everett's relations with Webster, the Adams family, Sumner, Lincoln, Winthrop, Lord Macaulay, and other notables of his time. One gathers that the most trying years of Everett's life were the three which he spent as president of Harvard, devoting his energies largely to the difficult task of forcing the faculty to attend chapel prayers and to a laudable effort toward re-

forming the drinking habits and morals of the Harvard undergraduate of that period. After leaving the Senate, Everett gave his services as orator to the patriotic movement for the restoration of Washington's home at Mount Vernon, yet it would seem that such campaigning might well have been done by another. There is a note of disappointment in Everett's papers which his biographer is unable wholly to suppress. A great man he was in his generation, tested by intellectual and moral standards. Yet the question obturates itself, Was his greatness after all ineffectual?

**Edith Wharton.** By Robert Morss Lovett. Robert M. McBride & Co. 91 pp.

The series of little books entitled "Modern American Writers," edited by Ernest Boyd, has made an excellent beginning. The second book of the series, devoted to Edith Wharton, consists of a brief biographical sketch and an estimate of Mrs. Wharton's work by Robert Morss Lovett. Although Mrs. Wharton has for so many years been a resident of Paris, the American reading public is not likely to forget that she is a New Yorker to the manner born. Mr. Lovett pictures very clearly the environment in which she grew up, and indicates the influences which led her to adopt literature as a profession. He shows that the background of "The Age of Innocence," and other well-known stories by this writer, was really the background of Mrs. Wharton's own life.

**Commanding an American Army.** By Hunter Liggett. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 208 pp. With maps.

Is it not to be accepted almost as a token of self-effacement that a general who has commanded more than 1,000,000 men in the field should confine himself to 160 pages in telling about it? General Hunter Liggett, during the World War, had under him, either in the First Corps or in the First Army, nearly every one of the American combat divisions that went to France. He organized and led the First Corps on the Marne, later at St. Mihiel and in the Meuse-Argonne, where the Germans were driven from the Argonne forest. As commander of the largest field army in the world, he saw his corps and divisions reach the heights of Sedan a few days before the Armistice. After a year and a half of continuous activity he rounded out his service in Europe by commanding the American Army of Occupation on the Rhine. In this comparatively small book he gives a clear and soldierly account of what went on in France during 1918 so far as the American troops were concerned, including two battles of the highest importance. So far there has been nothing published relating to American participation in the war of higher authority than this modest contribution from General Liggett.

**Drums.** By James Boyd. Charles Scribner's Sons. 490 pp.

Complaint has sometimes been made, and not without a show of reason, that most writers in dealing with the American Revolution, whether in

history or fiction, have limited their descriptions and narratives to the Northern Colonies. A youthful reader might easily get the impression from their works that the South, Virginia excepted, had only an incidental interest in the Revolution. No such impression would be received from a reading of Mr. James Boyd's novel, "Drums," which assuredly ranks second to none of its predecessors as a stirring tale of the Revolutionary period. For a great part of the book the scene is North Carolina, and in the impressive culmination of the story we see the march through that State of Greene's army, made up of units from all the colonies. Thus North Carolina becomes for the moment the theater of national triumph. For most of us this is a new angle from which to view the progress of the Continental fortunes. The vigor, as well as the literary grace, of the narrative leaves little to be desired.

**The Story of Illinois.** By Theodore Calvin Pease. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 394 pp. Ill.

Some years ago one-volume histories of the States became popular, and a number of excellent ones were written and published, but new manuscript materials and other authentic records are continually coming to light and revision of many of the popular histories will undoubtedly be required. In connection with the centenary of the State of Illinois in 1918, there was a revival of interest in the

dramatic history of that commonwealth. One of the men who was most concerned at that time in restudying of Illinois history is Dr. Theodore Pease, of the University of Illinois, the author the second volume of the "Centennial History." He now presents a short, readable narrative which embodies the results of the latest research. His enthusiasm as a historian of this great American commonwealth might well be emulated by writers other States.

**Stranger than Fiction: a Short History of the Jews from Earliest Times to the Present Day.** By Lewis Browne. Macmillan. 377 pp. Ill.

A rapid survey of the high points in Jewish history from the dawn of civilization to the present day. The story is popular and dramatic, not overcrowded with dates and other details, but much concerned with those factors which the author regards as basic and fundamental. The Old Testament, the Talmud and the rabbinical writings of later date are, of course, the original sources from which the narrative has been evolved. The finer points of historical criticism have no place in the book. Critics may be expected to take exception to this statement or that, but the author must be judged in the light of his main purpose, which was to recount the great Hebrew epic in terse, readable English between the covers of a single volume.

## American Social Conditions

**Handbook of American Prisons:** Covering the Prisons of the New England and Middle Atlantic States. Prepared by the National Society of Penal Information. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 311 pp.

It is safe to say that it would be quite impossible for anyone working independently to gather from printed materials the facts about American prisons which are contained in this volume. The official reports of the several penal institutions would give a part of the information. But the National Society of Penal Information is the only organization which collects facts about prisons in all the States and studies systematically the methods of dealing with the criminal. The handbooks prepared by this society give to the world the unvarnished truth about these penal institutions as it has been elicited by the society's agents. The present volume covers the prisons of the New England and Middle Atlantic States. Later handbooks will perform like service for the other geographical divisions of the country. An agency of this kind, far removed from local politics and prejudice, may bring about by its fearless exposures of defects a national agitation for better prison conditions.

**Divorce in America under State and Church.** By the Reverend Walker Gwynne. With an Introduction by the Bishop of New York. Macmillan. 154 pp.

A compact statement of the facts and considerations essential to the formation of a right judgment on the question of divorce. The subject is presented

under the following heads: "Divorce, Our Greatest Social Peril," "What Is Marriage?" "Our Chaotic Legislation," "The Cruelty of Our Legislation," "Our Immediate National Problem," "Limits of Federal Legislation." There are also chapters on the teachings of Christ concerning marriage and "Marriage in the Church—East and West." Dr. Gwynne endorses the sentiment expressed by Dr. George E. Howard in his "History of Matrimonial Institutions": "It is high time that the family and its related institutions should be as freely and openly and unsparingly subjected to scientific examination as are the facts of modern political and industrial life."

**The Suburban Trend.** By Harlan Paul Douglass. The Century Co. 340 pp.

In this book the long-suffering commuter has his full say. If the city dweller, on reading it, concludes that suburban life is not what it is sometimes cracked up to be, he may also derive from its pages a philosophy of the why and wherefore of modern suburbs. Dr. Douglass is convinced that suburbs in essence are "parts of the evolving cities and in sharp contrast with the original rural pattern of social experience." Still he finds that in a sense the suburbs do function "as an in-between type, particularly with reference to the modified rural civilization which is just now forming over large areas of the nation." The book is decidedly original in method and besides presenting a considerable amount of statistical material discusses such topics as the cost of suburban living and suburban social deficiencies in a convincing and thoroughgoing manner.

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